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The Great Hall of Kenilworth Castle from the South,
overlooking the Drained Lake.

ROBERT LANEHAM'S LETTER: DESCRIBING A PART OF THE ENTERTAINMENT UNTO QUEEN ELIZABETH AT THE CASTLE OF KENILWORTH IN 1575: EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION BY F. J. FURNIVALL

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PREFATORY NOTE TO THE EDITION OF 1907.

THIS edition of Laneham was originally issued for the Ballad Society in 1871, and the Introduction now, naturally enough, requires a few additions and corrections. Since it was written, several of the books or ballads mentioned have been edited or re-edited, and a few discoveries have been made. As the work is now reprinted from stereotype plates, it has been thought best to leave the Introduction as it originally stood and to call attention here to the chief points in which it requires supplementing.

p. xxiii. *The Squyre of Lo Degrée.* This has since been elaborately edited by Prof. W. E. Mead ('Albion Series,' Ginn & Co., Boston, 1904). It may be mentioned that *The Squire* is referred to in *The Nutbrown Maid*, l. 260, which was in print *c.* 1502.

p. li, l. 13. *Robin Hood.* The printers of the imperfect copy, here stated to be Chepman and Myllar, are now considered doubtful, see Child, *Eng. and Scot. Ballads*, 1882–98.

p. lxv, l. 11. *The Wife Lapt in a Morels Skin.* There is a ballad derived from this in Child (1882–98), V. 104, No. 277.

p. lxxvii, foot. *The Nutbrooun Maid.* The MS. is not at University College, but at Corpus, and is the day-book of John Dorne, an Oxford bookseller. It was edited in 1885 by Mr. F. Madan for the Oxford Historical Society. See *Early English Lyrics*, ed. E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick, 1907, p. 334.

p. lxxviii. *The Shepherdz Kalender.* The edition of Paris, 1503, has been reproduced in facsimile, with a reprint of Pynson's edition of 1506 and an introduction and glossary, by Dr. H. Oscar Sommer, London, Kegan Paul & Co., 1892.

p. lxxxv. *The Ship of Foolz.* T. H. Jamieson's edition, mentioned on p. clxxxi as in preparation, appeared in 1874.

p. xcv. *The Booke of Fortune.* See a long letter by Mrs. C. C. Stopes in the *Athenæum* of May 19, 1900, in which she shows that a work issued in 1672 may well have been a reprint of the original 'boke of fortune in folio' entered to W. Powell on Feb. 6, 1559–60 (cf. p. xcviii). The copy seen by Mrs. Stopes was imperfect, wanting both title-page and conclusion, and was identified by the running-title. It is a work in which Captain Cox would certainly have delighted, and consists of a large collection of brief rimes, many merely couplets, of the most varied character, as, for example, directions

for the discovery of fortunate days, weather lore, proverbs, warnings of the uncertainty of life, moral reflections, etc., etc. The rimes are grouped under the headings of 'juries' of various sects of philosophers and others, as if intended to represent their opinions, though the classification seems in reality to have been entirely haphazard. The first five headings are 'The jury of the Academiks, Graces, Originists, Platonists, Sorbonists.' Two of the rimes quoted by Mrs. Stopes may be given as specimens:

A mickle truth it is I tell
Hereafter thou'st lead Apes in Hell:
For she that will not when she may
When she will, she shall have nay.
XIII. 2.

If Kite or magpye eross thy way
Turn back again, and do not stay;
Unless tway crows thou chance to see
If so, gang on and happy be.
LII. 9.

The numerous extracts given in the letter make it clear that, though evidently revised after the accession of James I, the book originally belonged to a much earlier date. In a supplementary letter in the *Athenæum* of Aug. 25, 1900, Mrs. Stopes discussed the relationship between the English book and the *Triomfo di Fortuna* of Sigismondo Fanti, 1527.

p. cxviii. *Yooth and Charitee.* Waley's and Copland's texts are printed in full, together with a facsimile of the eight pages of the Lambeth Palace fragment, in an edition of the play in Professor Bang's 'Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas,' 1905.

p. cxix. *Hikskorner.* There were at least three editions of this: see Mr. W. W. Greg's *List of Plays*, Bibl. Soc., 1900.

p. cxxv, l. 5. *Impacient Poverty.* A copy of this play came to light in Ireland in 1905 and was sold on June 30, 1906, at Sotheby's. It was bought by the British Museum, where its press-mark is now C. 34. i. 26. It was reprinted by Mr. J. S. Farmer in his *Recently recovered 'Lost' Tudor Plays*, and will also shortly be issued in Professor Bang's 'Materialien.' The title is: "¶ A Newe In/terlude of Impacyente pouerte / newlye Imprynted. / M. V. LX. [*sic* for 1560] / ¶ Foure men may well and ease/lye playe thys Interlude. / Peace and Coll hassarde and Cō/scyence, for one man. / Haboundaunce and mysrule for / another man. / Impaciente pouerte, Prospery-/te, and pouerte, for one man. / Enuye and the sommer for ano/ther man." The colophon is "☞ Imprinted at London, in Paules / Churche yearde at the Sygne of / the Swane by Iohn Kynge./"

p. cxxxi. *Ouer a whinny, Meg.* As evidence that this was still in 1589 a well-known ballad, or tune, a mention of it in *The Protestatyon of Martin Marprelat*, printed in that year, sig. D1ᵛ, may be quoted. 'Nexte . . . followed a preamble to an Eblitaph vpon the death of olde Andrewe Turnecoate, to be song antiphonically in his graces Chappell, on wednesdayes and Frydayes, to the lamentable tune of Orawhynemeg.'

p. cxxxi. *By a bank as I lay.* Printed in Messrs. E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick's *Early English Lyrics*, XXXIII, p. 71, where some further information will be found.

p. cxlix. *Pastance vitht gude companye.* The MS. mentioned as belonging to a Mrs. Lamb was purchased by the British Museum in 1882, and is now Addl. MS. 31922. See notes in *E. E. Lyrics*, u. s., where this poem is printed as No. CXXIII, p. 212.

p. clii. *Cou thou me the raschis grene.* The Royal MS. 58 has been printed in *Anglia*, xii.

For the Note above I am indebted to Mr. R. B. McKerrow, M.A.

F. J. F.

FOREWORDS.

When turning from the England of 1303, from Arthurian Legends and the Holy Grail, from Poems on the Virgin and Christ, to the later Ballads of the Percy Folio, I was faced at every turn by Captain COX. 'This was in Captain Cox's Library; this wasn't in Captain Cox's list; Captain Cox didn't mention the other:' nothing could be settled without reference to Captain Cox. Either having forgotten this famous man, or never having heard of him before, when I evidently ought to have known his name as well as Shakspere's, I felt extremely humbled at my ignorance; I at once looked him out in the British Museum Catalogue, and several Biographical Dictionaries, but could find nothing about him. At last I was obliged to submit to the further humiliation of asking (with many apologies) a ballad-loving friend, who this Captain Cox was. My friend referred me to *Laneham's Letter;* and there the great Captain stood revealed to me. The foremost figure in English Story-book and Ballad history the valiant Coventry mason is; and in so bright a picture of merry outofdoor Elizabethan life is he set in *Laneham's Letter*, that on starting the Ballad Society, I resolved to re-edit the Letter, with Captain Cox's name at the head of it, in order, if possible, to bring him into more prominence.

Though we must admit that the Captain was not the first person in Laneham's mind when he wrote his letter, still, it is for the lists of Captain Cox's story-books and ballads that reference has, in our days, been most frequently made to the tract. Walter Scott's 'Kenilworth' revived interest in it for the last generation, and led to its reprint then; Mr. George Adler's 'Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leicester' has led to its reprint now, since my own was in type. The Rev. E. H. Knowles of Abbey Hill, Kenilworth, has just ready a fresh edition of it, with fine photographs of the ruins of the Castle, etc. Still, the merit of the Letter is great enough to justify its reproduction by any number of

people or societies, each from his or its own point of view, and with comments accordingly.

The Letter is written by one London mercer, Robert Laneham, to another, Master Humfrey Martin, and describes the visit of Queen Elizabeth to her favourite, and Laneham's patron, the Earl of Leicester, at Kenilworth Castle for nineteen days, from Saturday the 9th to Wednesday the 27th of July, 1575. The castle itself, its grounds and appointments, the pageants presented before the Queen, as well as an ancient minstrel with a solemn song, prepared for her, but not shown to her (pp. 36–42), are all described by Laneham with great gusto; but he has unluckily left out the last week of the fun, as he took such slender notes of what went on (p. 43).

Laneham is a most amusing, self-satisfied, rollicking chap. He tells us his history; that he went to school both at St. Paul's (Colet's school) and St. Anthony's (where Whitgift was), was in the fifth form, got through Æsop's Fables, read Terence, and began Virgil, then served Master Bomsted a Mercer in London, then traded in sundry countries—among others, 'in Frauns and Flaunders long and many a day' (p. 1)—and so gat languages, which helpt his Latin (p. 61). Leicester took him up,—for his ready tongue and merry ways, no doubt, as well as his knowledge of 'Langagez,'—gave him apparel, even from his own back, got him allowance in the stable, got him made Doorkeeper of the Council Chamber, helpt him in his license to import beans duty free, and let his father 'serve the stable,'—that is, as I suppose, supply it with grain and fodder—so that our worthy says "I go noow in my sylks, that els might ruffl in my cut canves [or poor men's clothes]: I ryde now a hors bak, that els many timez mighte mannage it a foot: am knoen to their honors, & taken foorth with the best, that els might be bidden to stand bak my self" (p. 57).

Laneham tells us besides how he spent his days at Kenilworth; and in this account, pages 58–61, the full character of the man comes out in a most amusing way. The reader should turn at once to the passages, and enjoy them: the "jolly & dry a mornings," the being "by & by in the bones of" any listener, or prier, the seating his friends, but "let the rest walk, a Gods name"; his airing his languages before the foreigners, being, "in afternoons & a nights . . . alwayez among the Gentlwemen,"

showing off before company, dancing, playing, singing, making eyes and sighs at Mistress ——, whose name he won't tell, being able to "gracify the matters az well az the prowdest of them," give us the very man. "Stories I delight in," says he (p. 61); Music he loves: "take ye this by the way, that for the smal skyl in muzik that God hath sent me, (ye kno it iz sumwhat) ile set the more by my self while my name iz Laneham; and grace a God! A! muzik is a noble Art!" (p. 35). His patron Leicester was perfection in his eyes (pp. 56–8), and Kenilworth nearly Paradise (p. 48–53). He enjoyed the beautiful country round him (p. 2–3), revelled in all the show and bustle about him, delighted in the conceits of the pageants, rejoiced in the stag-hunts (p. 13, 16), thought the bear-baiting fine sport (p. 16–18), threw himself into the rough fun of the country bride-ale and Coventry play (p. 20, 26), quizzed the performers (p. 22–4), took off the old minstrel (p. 40), drank lots of good ale and wine (p. 8, 45), eat to his fill (p. 59); and in the best of spirits with everything about him, and especially with himself, the excellent Robert Laneham, gent., wrote this *Letter* about the whole affair to his friend Master Martin, one of the jovial set they both belonged to in London.

No doubt if there'd been a Superfine Review in his day, it would have called him a coxcomb, reproved him for his vulgarity, and perchance written an article on his "females," as its present representative has on our workingmen's wives and daughters in their holiday-excursions. For my part, I am content to take Robert Laneham and enjoy him as he is; and I only wish that twenty others like him had left us such genuine pictures of the country life and sports of Elizabeth's time. As for his writing so much about himself, I only wish my contemporaries would follow his example, and believe that posterity will enjoy what they write, as much as we do like bits in the writings of our predecessors. Let men *be themselves* in their writings, and let critics, and "un-"unsuited-to-the-dignity-of-print," etcetera, be blowed!

But where is Captain Cox all this while? Well, we're coming to him soon.

In order to make room for him, I have put an abstract of the amusements of each day of the Queen's visit in the *Contents*, above. She arrived at Kenilworth Castle on Saturday the 9th of July 1575. On her first Sunday, the forenoon was spent in "divine

seruis & preaching at the parish church," while in the afternoon—the place not being a People's Park, and there being no Mr. Ayrton to stop the bands playing dance-music, for fear her Majesty's scruples should be offended—"excellent music of sundry swet instruments" was played, and "dancing of Lords and Ladiez, and oother worshipfull degrees" went on. The second Sunday, July 17, 1575, was St. Kenelm's day,—the saint and king who built[1] part of the Castle, and after whom it was called;—and advantage was taken of this anniversary to show the Queen some of the characteristic sports of the country, including especially the old historical Hock-Tuesday play of the men of Coventry—a town so famous for its Mysteries—commemorating the masacre of the Danes on Nov. 13, 1002, or June 8, 1042. In this latter, Captain Cox appears. I therefore refer the reader to pages 20–26 of Laneham's tract, for a description of the acting of the Bride-ale—with our author's quizzical description of the performers, bridegroom, morris-dance, bridesmaids, cupbearer, bride, running at the Quintain, and general shindy following,—and proceed to reprint here the account of Captain Cox, giving a separate half-line and number to each of his tracts, etc.; then, with the help of Mr. Halliwell, Mr. Hazlitt,[2] Mr. Wm. Chappell, etc., I shall comment on the Captain's list of Story-Books and Ballads, describing each, so far as I can, in order to give my readers a view of the literature on which the reading members of the English middle-class in Elizabeth's time were brought up; and lastly, I shall contrast Captain Cox's list with that of the books, ballads, and tunes known in Scotland in 1548 to the writer of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, adding also a few comments on this latter list, by the help of Leyden, etc. Here then is Captain COX:—

Captain Cox. But aware, kéep bak, make room noow, heer they cum! And fyrst, captin Cox, an od man I promiz yoo: by profession a Mason, and that right skilfull, very cunning in fens, and hardy az Gawin; for hiz tonsword hangs at his tablz éend: great ouersight hath he in matters of storie: For, az for

I. King Arthurz book.
II. Huon of Burdeaus.
III. The foour suns of Aymon.
IV. Beuys of Hampton.
V. The squyre of lo degrée.
VI. The knight of courtesy, and the Lady Faguell.
VII. Frederik of Gene.
VIII. Syr Eglamoour.
IX. Sir Tryamoour.

[1] That is, is said to have built.

[2] The information as to old editions is nearly all taken from Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*.

X. Sir Lamwell.
XI. Syr Isenbras.
XII. Syr Gawyn.
XIII. Olyuer of the Castl.
XIV. Lucres and Eurialus.
XV. Virgils life.
XVI. The castle of Ladiez.
XVII. The wido Edyth.
XVIII. The King & the Tanner.
XIX. Frier Rous.
XX. Howleglas.
XXI. Gargantua.
XXII. Robinhood.
XXIII. Adambel, Clim of the clough, & William of cloudesley.
XXIV. The Churl & the Burd.
XXV. The seauen wise Masters.
XXVI. The wife lapt in a Morels skin.
XXVII. The sak full of nuez.
XXVIII. The scargeaunt that became a Fryar.
XXIX. Skogan.
XXX. Collyn cloout.
XXXI. The Fryar & the boy.
XXXII. Elynor Rumming.
XXXIII. The Nutbrooun maid.

With many moe then I rehearz héere: I beléeue hee haue them all at hiz fingers endz.

Then, in Philosophy both morall and naturall, I think he be az naturally ouerseen: beside poetrie and Astronomie, and oother hid sciencez, as I may gesse by the omberty of hiz books: whear-of part az I remember,

XXXIV. The Sheperdz kalender.
XXXV. The Ship of Foolz.
XXXVI. Danielz dreamz.
XXXVII. The booke of Fortune.
XXXVIII. '*Stans puer ad mensam.*'
XXXIX. The hy wey to the Spitl-house.
XL. Iulian of Brainfords testament.
XLI. The castle of Loue.
XLII. The booget of Demaunds.
XLIII. The hundred Mery talez.
XLIV. The book of Riddels.
XLV. The Seauen sororz of wemen.
XLVI. The prooud wiues Pater noster.
XLVII. The Chapman of a peniwoorth of Wit.

Beside hiz auncient playz,

XLVIII. Yooth & charitee.
XLIX. Hikskorner.
L. Nugize.
LI. Impacient ponerty.

And héerwith,

LII. Doctor Boords breuiary of health.

What shoold I rehearz heer, what a bunch of ballets & songs, all auncient: Az

LIII. Broom broom on hil.
LIV. So wo iz me begon, troly lo.
LV. Ouer a whinny Meg.
LVI. Hey ding a ding.
LVII. Bony lass vpon a gréen.
LVIII. My bony on gaue me a bek.
LIX. By a bank az I lay.

and a hundred more, he hath, fair wrapt vp in Parchment, and bound with a whipcord.

And az for Allmanaks of antiquitée (a point for Ephemerides) I wéene hee can sheaw from (LX) Iasper Laet of Antwarp vnto (LXI) Nostradam of Frauns, and thens vnto oour (LXII) John Securiz of Salsbury. To stay ye no longer héerin, I dare say hee hath az fair a library for théez sciencez, & az many goodly monuments both in proze & poetry, & at afternoonz can talk az much without book, az ony Inholder betwixt Brainford and Bagshot, what degree soeuer he be.

Beside thiz, in the field a good Marshall at musters: of very great credite & trust in the toun héer, for he haz béen chozen Alecumner many a yéere,

when hiz betterz haue stond by: & euer quited himself with such estimation, az yet too the tast of a cup of Nippitate, his iudgment will be taken aboue the best in the parish, be hiz noze near so read.

Captain Cox cam marching on valiantly before, cléen trust, & gartered aboue the knée, all fresh in a veluet cap (master Golding *had* lent it him) floorishing with hiz tonswoord, and anothers fensmaster with him: thus in the foreward making room for the rest.

Of this happy custom of giving lists of the story-books known to the writer of a later book, we have plenty of early instances in English. The *Cursur o Worlde*, or *Cursor Mundi*, many Romances, Robert of Brunne, Chaucer, Lydgate, and others, practised it before Laneham. The latest list before Laneham that I have seen, is given by Mr. J. P. Collier—with what accuracy I am unable to judge—in his *Bibliographical Account*, i. 327, from 'A Briefe and necessary Instruction etc., by E. D., 8vo, 1572: (I italicize the books that are also in Captain Cox's list:)

Bevis of Hampton, Guy of Warwicke, *Arthur of the round table*, *Huon of Bordeaux*, *Oliver of the Castle*, *the foure sonnes of Amond*, *the witles devices of Gargantua*, *Howleglas*, Esop, *Robyn Hoode*, *Adam Bell*, *Frier Rushe*, the Fooles of Gotham, and a thousand such other.

Among the 'such other' are mentioned 'tales of Robyn Goodfellow,' 'Songes and Sonets,' 'Pallaces of Pleasure,' 'unchast fables and Tragedies, and such like Sorceries,' 'The Courte of Venus,' '*The Castle of Love*.'

In passing, we may note the extraordinary omission by Laneham of 'Guy of Warwick' in Capt. Cox's list, as it is incredible that a Warwickshire collector like the Captain should not have had it. The fact lends colour to the supposition that the list is as much one of Laneham's own books as Capt. Cox's.

The next list to Laneham's that I know, is given in a book, the first edition of which is dated 1579. In the 2nd edition of this in 1586, *The English Courtier and the Cuntrey-gentleman*, Vincent, the country-gentleman, says how they amuse themselves 'in fowle weather' at dice, cards, and games, and

"Wee want not also pleasant mad-headed knaues *that* bee properly learned, and will reade in diuerse pleasant bookes and good Authors: as Sir Guy of Warwicke, the *foure Sonnes of Amon*, *the Ship of Fooles*, *the Budget of Demaunds*, *the Hundreth merry Tales*, *the Booke of Ryddles*, and many other excellent writers both witty and pleasaunt." p. 57, ed. 1868, *Roxburghe Library*.

If we turn now to the list of the Scotch writer of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, about 1548 A.D., we at once find a great change. Only two of Captain Cox's stories are in the Scotch list, namely 'The Four Sons of Aymon,' and 'Bevis of Hampton,' though the *Complaynt* matches Captain Cox's I, Arthurz book, and XII, Sir

Gawyn, by its (23) Arthur story or tale in rime, (19) Gauen and Gollogras, (16) Syr Euan (Ywain) and (20) Lancelot du Lac; and Captain Cox's XXII, Robin Hood, by its (29) Robene Hude and Litil Ihone, and its dance-tune of (91) Robene Hude. Still, of the Scotchman's 46 stories, at least twelve are known to us as English ones, as will be noted below. Another marked difference between the lists of the two countries is, the very great number of classical or semi-classical stories in the Scotch list, ten,—(11) Hercules and the Hydra, (37) Actæon, (38) Pyramus and Thisbe, (39) Leander and Hero, (40) Jupiter and Io, (41) Jason and the Golden Fleece, (43) The Golden Apple, (44) The 3 Weird Sisters [*Parcæ* or Fates], (45) Dædalus and the Minotaur, (46) Midas and his ass-ears,—as against Captain Cox's none, for we can hardly call the middle-age necromancer of XV, Virgil's Life, classical, though he may have originated in the poet Virgil. This contrast means, I take it, not that Scotch shepherds or merchants knew more classics, or cared more for them, than our Coventry mason, or Robert Laneham, but that the writer of the *Complaynt* was a far more 'bookish' man—he's brimfull of classics—than Laneham, our London mercer.

Let us now take Captain Cox's (or Laneham's) books separately, and describe shortly such of them as are accessible in the British Museum, etc.

I. *King Arthurz book.* This is Sir Thomas Maleore's or Malory's well-known *Morte Darthur*, or abstract of the several prose French Romances of *Merlin*,—in its two states, shown by Mr. Henry Huth's unique version[1] containing the book of Balin and Balan, and by the ordinary version, of which Mr. H. B. Wheatley has edited an early English prose translation for the Early English Text Society from the unique MS. in the Cambridge University Library, ab. 1440 A.D.—*Les Prophecies de Merlin*, *Lancelot del Lac*, *Tristan*, *Queste del Saint-Graal*, *Morte d'Arthur*, etc. Sir T. Maleore finished his work in the 9th year of king Edward the Fourth, A.D. 1469, and Caxton printed the first edition of it in 1485. Wynkyn de Worde reprinted Caxton's edition, with a few variations,—on which see Sir Ed. Strachey's modernized and expurgated edition, for Macmillan's Globe Series in 1868, p. xvi.—in 1498, and again in 1529. Then Wyllyam Copland reprinted it again in 1557, at his predecessor Robert's old shop, at the sign of the Rose Garlande

[1] It is still in MS, though copied for printing.

in Fleet Street; and these are all the editions that we know before Laneham's date. So scarce have these early editions become, that we know of only 2 imperfect copies of the Caxton, (Lord Jersey's has no title; Lord Spencer's has 11 leaves in facsimile, not from Caxton's edition); one imperfect of each of the Wynkyn de Wordes (1498, Lord Spencer; 1529, Grenville collection in the British Museum). Of the Copland, Mr. Halliwell—seemingly quoting a copy of his own—says that it is entitled "The Hystorye of the moost noble and worthy prynce, Kynge Arthur," while Mr. Hazlitt gives the first words of the title as "The Story of the most noble and worthy Kynge Arthur," and says that copies are in the British Museum (King's books), and the Pepysian Library at Magdalen College, Cambridge (with no title page) and elsewhere; and that it's printed in double columns with woodcuts.

I do not tell the stories in this book because all my readers must know them well, and must have judged how far Ascham was right in calling the book one 'of bold bawdry,' how far Wynkyn de Worde[1] in saying, "me thinketh this present book called *La Morte Darthur* is right necessary often to be read; for in it ye shall find the gracious, knightly, and virtuous war of most noble knights of the world, whereby they gat praising continual. Also me seemeth, by the oft reading thereof ye shall greatly desire to accustom yourself in following of those gracious knightly deeds, that is to say, to dread God, and to love righteousness, faithfully and courageously to serve your sovereign prince."

Maleore's and Tennyson's conceptions of Arthur differ widely. Our Victorian poet makes him a sinless king,—a type of Christ,—whose work is marred by the guilt of his wife and his friends. Maleore, on the other hand, makes Arthur what a Norman knight, a Keltic chieftain, would certainly have been, a gratifier of his own lust: he sins, not only with Lionors,—he begat Borres on her (ed. 1816, p. 34, bk. i. ch. 15),—but with his own half-sister Margawse, King Lot's wife, and the son of his incest works his father's death. The prophecy of Merlin on Arthur's committing his crime is fulfilled[2]; and for his own sin the Flower of Kings withers and dies. The Fate is on him from his youth; and over all his glory hangs ever the dark cloud of unatoned-for sin.

[1] See Strachey's modernized ed. p. xiv., 488.

[2] "You have done a thing late, wherefore God is displeased with you; for you have lain by your sister; and on her you have gotten a child that shall destroy you and all the knights of your realm." "What are you," said king

II. *Huon of Burdeaus.* This is a translation, by the famous Sir Johan Bourchier, Lord Berners,—whose englishings of Froissart's Chronicle and the Romance of Arthur of Little Britain, are so well known—of 'a long, heavy French Romance,' says Mr. Halliwell (*Pop. Tracts*, p. 6); but that is matter of opinion, as Mr. Dunlop speaks of its "singularity and beauty,"—see also page xix —and Lord Berners wasn't a fool. The first edition is supposed to have been printed about 1535 by Robert Redborne, says Hazlitt's *Handbook;* by Pynson, say Mr. Corser and Messrs. Sotheby. The only copy known was Dr. Bliss's, afterwards Mr. Corser's, at whose sale in 1869, 'wanting title and 2 leaves at end, supposed to be printed by Pynson,' it fetched £81. An edition by Thomas Purfoot in 1601 says that it is 'now the third time imprinted.' The second edition is perhaps that mentioned by Mr. Halliwell at p. 6–7 of his *Popular Tracts:* "I have recently seen an imperfect copy of an ancient edition of this translation, printed in folio, in double columns, and illustrated with rude woodcuts, certainly printed before Shakespeare could have commenced writing for the stage, and in all probability not long after the year 1560." The translation was made by Lord Berners at the request of the Earl of Huntingdon, and extracts from it are given in Halliwell's "Illustrations of Fairy Mythology," Shakesp. Soc. 1845. "Shakespeare probably took the name of Oberon from this old romance."

The story of it is told in Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, ed. 1845, p. 123, col. 1; and 'the incidents in the *Oberon* of Wieland' (which Mr. Sotheby translated) 'are nearly the same with those in the old French romance.'

Charlemagne's son, Charlot, waylays Huon, and is slain by him. Huon can only get pardon by going to the Emir Gaudisse of Bagdad, and at table cutting off the head of the bashaw on his right, kissing his daughter 3 times, and bringing a lock of the Emir's white beard, and 4 of his best grinders, to Charlemagne. Huon sets out, goes to the Holy Sepulchre, and then the coast of the Red Sea, whence a naked old French escaped slave, Gerasmes, takes him through Oberon's forest, towards Bagdad. Oberon, a lovely child of 4 years old, and the son of Julius Cæsar (as he

Arthur, "that tell me these tidings?" "I am Merlin, and I was he in the king's likeness." "Ah!" said king Arthur, "ye are a marvellous man; but I marvel much of thy words, that I must die in battle." "Marvel not," said Merlin, "for it is God's will that your body be punished for your foul deeds." (Bk. i. ch. 18, ed. 1816, p. 39.)

says) gives Huon a magic goblet and horn, and afterwards rescues him, in Tourmont, from his traitorous renegade uncle. Huon then kills the giant Angoulaffre, reaches Bagdad, cuts off the head of the lover of Esclarmonde, the Emir's daughter, kisses her 3 times, and asks the Emir for a lock of his beard and his 4 grinders. The Emir has Huon chained and cast into prison; but Esclarmonde visits him, turns Christian, and offers to kill her father. But Huon is set free to conquer the brother of the giant Angoulaffre, which he does, and then asks the Emir to be baptized. The Emir orders Huon to be seized; but his magic horn summons Oberon; the Emir's head is struck off, and the lock of his beard and 4 grinders are soon Huon's. Huon then sails for Italy with treasure and Esclarmonde; but Oberon threatens him with dire punishments if he takes a husband's enjoyment out of Esclarmonde before he marries her. Of course Huon does this, and is shipwrecked; does it again, and has Esclarmonde carried away from him to King Yvoirin's seraglio. To that king's court, by the help of Malebron, one of Oberon's spirits, Huon gets, and there defeats Yvoirin's enemy Galafre. Afterwards, uniting with Gerasmes, who was then Galafre's champion, Huon frees Esclarmonde—still a virgin—sails to Italy, and weds her in Rome. He then sets out for Charlemagne's court, but is betrayed and sent there in chains by his brother Girart. Falsely accused, he is condemned and led to the stake; but Oberon rescues him, has Girart killed, and invites Huon and Esclarmonde to visit him in his fairy land. Here the original story ends. The continuation adds: Huon having cut off the head of the son of Thiery, emperor of Germany, is invaded by that potentate, in Guienne. He sails for Asia to get help from Esclarmonde's brother, and while he is absent, his wife is captured, and Gerasmes slain. On his voyage, Huon's ship is carried into a whirlpool, where he sees Judas Iscariot swimming and lamenting. The ship afterwards strikes on a rock of adamant, whereon the Lady of the Hidden Isle has built a glorious palace to hide her lover Julius Cæsar from the fury of three kings of Egypt. After a long stay here, Huon leaves on the back of a griffin, and is set down on a mountain where he finds the Fountain of Youth—wherein he bathes,—and its apple-tree, 3 of whose youth-giving apples he is let pluck. Then he is borne in a boat down a stream through a subterranean canal, where he gathers magic stones, to the Persian Gulf; and he

lands at Tauris. He wins the favour of the Sultan by the gift of one of his magic apples, and gets an army to free Esclarmonde. Landing at the desert isle of Abillaut, he sees Cain going round the top of a mountain in a cask full of serpents and spikes, and has a ride in the boat of the evil spirits who made the cask. Huon then visits Jerusalem, and makes war on the Sultan of Egypt; then lands at Marseilles, sends off his fleet, gives his 2nd youth-apple to his uncle, the Abbot of Clugny; and with the third gets back his wife from Emperor Thiery. Huon and Esclarmonde return to their own land of Guienne, and then visit Oberon in his enchanted forest, who installs Huon "in the empire of Faëry," and expires shortly after. The remainder of the romance, or rather fairy-tale, contains an account of the reign of Huon, and his dispute with Arthur (who had hoped for the appointment) as to the sovereignty of Fairy-land; and also the adventures of the Duchess Clairette, the daughter of Huon and Esclarmonde, from whom was descended the illustrious family of Capet.

"There are few romances of chivalry which possess more beauty and interest than Huon of Bourdeaux: the story, however, is too long protracted, and the first part seems to have exhausted the author's stores of imagination. Huon is a more interesting character than most of the knights of Charlemagne. . . . The subordinate characters in the work are also happily drawn. . . ."

So says Mr. Dunlop (*Hist. Fiction*, p. 129), who evidently knew more about the subject than Mr. Halliwell. The reader will find another sketch of the story in M. Alfred Delvau's *Bibliothèque Bleue*, Paris 1849, a book otherwise called *Collection des Romans de Chevalerie, mis en Prose française Moderne*, Paris, Bachelin-Deflorenne 1869, i. 145.[1]

III. *The Foour sons of Aymon.* This is a translation by Caxton about 1489, of one of the French Romances of the Charlemagne cycle.

Of Caxton's edition no perfect copy is known. The colophon of the 3rd edition by Wylliam Copland in 1554, now in Bridge-

[1] M. Delvau is one of the J. P. Collier class who seldom tell you where their originals are; though in this point Delvau sins more than Collier. One of the late originals in the British Museum, 'Les prouesses et faitz merueilleux du noble Huon de bordeaulx, per de france, duc de guyenne,' printed at Paris by 'Michel le noir, Libraire jure en luniuersite de paris,' and finished the 26th day of November 1513, has very quaint and jolly woodcuts, and tells the bits of its story that I have read, in most pleasant language.

account of it in modern French is in his *Collection des Romans de Chevalerie,* Paris, 1869, i. 97, or *Bibliothèque Bleue*, 1849. The late French prose romance, and the English translation of it, no doubt differ in details from the earlier *Chansons de Geste.*

IV. *Beuys of Hampton.* The earliest copy of this Romance, which is translated from a 'Frensche boke,' is in the Auchinleck MS. ab. 1320-30 A.D. and was printed by the Maitland Club in 1838. Other MSS. are in the University Library, Cambridge, and the Library of Caius College, Cambridge, etc. The first printed version that we know, is from the press of Pynson, without date, and the only copy known is among Douce's books in the Bodleian. Of the next print that we know, Wynkyn de Worde's, 'a fragment of two leaves is in the Bodleian among Douce's books.' Of the third print, William Coplande's, a copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum. Editions were licensed to Thomas Marshe in 1558 (*Stationers' First Register*, leaf 31[1]), to John Tysdayle in 1560-1 (*ib.* leaf 62 back), and to John Alde in 1568-9 (*ib.* leaf 179);—see Collier's *Stat. Reg.* i. 16, 38, 200;—but none of these editions are now known. If they were printed, the book must have been the most popular of those we have yet dealt with in Captain Cox's library. The story it tells is sketched by Ellis in his Early English Metrical Romances, from the Caius MS. and Pynson's copy. A king of Scotland's daughter has been given to old Sir Gij or Guy of South Hamtoun, and though he begets Bevis on her, he does not kiss and cuddle her all day as a younger lover would. She therefore sends to Sir Murdour to kill her husband and marry her; which, by her treachery, he does; and then she orders her 7-year old son, Bevis, to be murdered, and as that fails, to be sold as a slave and sent into heathendom. At the court of the Saracen Ermyn, he kills, when 15 years old, 60 knights, and then a monstrous boar, and 9 foresters. Being knighted, mounted on his steed Arundel, and armed with his sword Morglay, he leads Ermyn's small army against the large force of Bradmond, king of Damascus, who has demanded Ermyn's daughter, Josyan. He kills Bradmond's giant Radyson, unhorses and defeats Bradmond, and then induces Josyan to promise to deny her faith and marry him. For this he is sent treacherously to Bradmond, who casts him into a dungeon in Damascus with 2 dragons. These Bevis slays; and after 7 years' imprisonment his chain breaks by a miracle, and he escapes. Killing his foremost

[1] I have verified the references.

pursuer, and then his gigantic brother, Bevis goes to Jerusalem, and thence to Mounbraunt, from the king of which country, Inor, he carries off his love Josyan, who had married Inor, but had remained a virgin. After killing two lions, a giant, and a most terrible dragon, and rescuing Josyan from the people who are about to burn her for hanging Earl Mile who had carried her off, Bevis has Sir Murdour, his father's murderer, thrown into a boiling caldron, while his mother, Murdour's wife, casts herself headlong from a tower. Bevis then recovers his father's Earldom of Southampton, but soon has to give it up—because his horse Arundel has killed King Edgar's son, who wanted to steal it,—and goes abroad. Josyan and her two babies are carried off from him for 7 years, but at length rejoin him, and he defends his father-in-law king Ermyn against Inor. His son Guy is made king of Ermyn's land, and he (Bevis) kills Inor and all his army, and becomes king of Mounbraunt. Thence he returns to England to restore his cousin Robert to his estates. He encamps at Putney, slays the king's steward, and (with his sons) has a fierce long fight in London, in which 60,000 men are slain; their blood runs down to Temple-Bar, and turns the Thames red. The result of this is, that King Edgar marries his daughter to Bevis's son, Sir Mile, who is crowned King of England, while Bevis and Josyan return to Mounbraunt, where they and their steed Arundel all die together.

V. *The Squyre of Lo Degrée* (or "Undo your Dore"). A poem pretty enough to have justified many more editions than the only early ones that have reached us, namely two; 1. Wynkyn de Worde's, of which 4 leaves only are known; 2. Wyllyam Copland's, of which a unique copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum. (The latter has been reprinted by Ritson in vol. iii. of his *Ancient Metrical Romances*, and by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, vol. ii. p. 21–64, 1866). 3. An edition, not now known, was licensed to John Kynge on June 10, 1560; and as two other of Captain Cox's books were licensed with it, I copy the entry from leaf 48 of the Stationers' First Register, (it's also in *Collier*, i. 26) putting in some stops:

Receyvd of John Kynge, for his Lycense for pryntinge of these Copyes: Lucas vrialis[3], nyce wanton / impaciens poverte / The proude wyves pater noster / The squyre of Low degre / and syr deggre: graunted y^e^ x of June a^o^ 1560 . . . . . ij*s.*

[3] Lucres and Euryalus. See below, p. xxxviii, No. XIV.

The story told in 1132 lines is one of the best and most popular of our early tales, and was no doubt known to Shakspere: "You called me yesterday mountain-squire, but I will make you to-day *a squire of low degree*." Fluellin in *Henry V.*, act 5, sc. 1. The poor Squire and Marshal of the King of Hungary loves that king's daughter for 7 years in silence. At length his love finds voice, and he finds it is returned; but his Princess bids him go abroad for 7 years, and earn fame in fight, then visit the holy city Jerusalem, and come back to wed her. She gives him money and arms, and the Squire starts, but, returning to take leave of her, is caught at her door by the King's treacherous Steward with a band of men. The Squire kills 7 men and the Steward, but is taken, and put in prison by the King's orders. The Steward's corpse, dressed in the Squire's clothes, is set against the Princess's door, and his face so hacked, that she thinks the body is the Squire's. She embalms it, and for seven years daily mourns over it. Then, unknown to her, the King frees the Squire, and sends him abroad to gain fame, and see the Holy Land, during 7 years more. This he does, his love still keeping his supposed corpse by her, and daily mourning over it. The King tempts her with all kinds of pleasure; but she, faithful ever, will have none of them. At last, when the Squire has, like Jacob for his Rachel, served twice 7 years, the King brings the living lover to his daughter; and the Squire of Low Degree is King, and with his Queen leads his life thenceforth in joy and bliss.

As bright as spring, and as tender as evening light, is the old story in its different parts; and besides, it is interesting for its many details of old-world life, its list of trees (l. 29–41), of birds (l. 45–60), of the parts of a knight's armour (l. 203–230), how he is to win renown, etc., and specially the King's description of the pleasures, dress, room and pursuits of his daughter (l. 711–852). There is a poor, much-shortened, version of it in the Percy Folio *Ballads and Romances*, iii. 263, containing only 170 lines, against the 1132 of the original, as we must call Copland's late version of an earlier original, which it has evidently altered in many words and left out several lines of:—see l. 625–7, and compare the story of *Lybius Disconius*.

VI. *The Knight of Courtesy and the Lady Faguell.* The only edition known is by Wyllyam Coplande, not dated, but probably before 1557, as there is no notice of it in the Stationers' First

Register. A unique copy of it is in the Bodleian, which Ritson reprinted (less one stanza) in the third volume of his *Ancient Metrical Romances*, 1802; and Mr. Hazlitt has since reprinted it in vol. ii. of his *Early Popular Poetry*, p. 65–87. It is only 504 lines long, and its story is a sad one of platonic love. The Lord of Faguell, who has a sweet chaste wife, hears such a report of the bravery and courteousness of "The Noble Knight of Courtesy" that he sends for him to dwell in his land. The Knight comes, and he and the Lady of Faguell fall in love with each other. They have a tender scene in the garden, and agree to love one another in chastity. An overhearer of this warns the Lord against the Knight, and the Lord then calls on the Knight to go to Rhodes, and fight for the Christian Faith. To the Lady's great distress, the Knight consents, and she shears off all her yellow hair to put in his helm as a memento of her. Sadly they part. He seeks adventures, wins jousts, slays a dragon in Lombardy, who nearly kills him; and then he goes to Rhodes to help the Christians against the besieging Saracens. The Knight kills all whom he meets, till at last 12 Saracens set on him, and wound him to death, after he has killed 4 of them. He makes his page promise to cut out his heart, after he is dead, wrap it in his Lady's hair, and take it to her as his present. On the way home, the page is met by the Lord of Faguell, who takes away the heart and hair, has the heart cookt for his Lady's dinner, and then tells her what she has eaten. She reproaches him, and says that, after the heart, she will eat no earthly food; then she yields up her spirit, making her moan.

VII. *Frederik of Gene.* Mr. Halliwell, saying that a fragment of this tract is in Douce's collection in the Bodleian, gives its title (from Herbert's Ames, I suppose.) Mr. Hazlitt adds its colophon. Both follow:

This Mater Treateth of a Merchauntes Wyfe that afterwarde went lyke a man, and becam a Great Lorde, and was called Frederyke of Jennen afterwarde. [Col.] Thus endeth this lyttell storye of lord frederyke. Imprynted in Anwarpe by me John Dusborowghe, dwellynge besyde the Camerporte, in the yere of our lorde God, 1518. 4to. With woodcuts.

The fragments—No. 79 in the Douce Fragments—in the Bodleian are identified with the Romance of *Frederyke of Jennen* by the signature on leaf A iij. As to editions, Douce's MS. notes state that his fragments belong to an edition by Pynson (not otherwise known), and not to a copy of John Dusboroughe's edition.

He has written on the cover of the fragments, "Frederick of Jennen p. by Pynson," and also: "Not in Herbert. P[rinted] also by Doesborowe. See Herbert 1533. Story of Cymbeline." The fragments are as follows:—

Douce Fragments, No. 79.

¶ How foure marchauntes met a[ll togyder,] whiche were of foure dyuerse lo[ndes, and iorney]de all to Parys.

In the yere of our lorde .... [it] happened that four [marchauntes] .... out of dyuerse countrye[s went on their journeys and] as they were goyng [it fell so that by] fortune they met all togyder and .... gyder / for they were all foure goynge [to P]arys in Fraunce & for company sake they rode a [....] into one ynne / & it was about shraftyde, in the moost ioyfull tyme of all the yere[1]; and theyr names were called as here foloweth. *the* fyrst was called Courant of Spayne / *the* second was called Borchart of Fraunce / the thyrde was called Johan of Florence / & the fourth was called Ambrose of Jennen. Than, by the consent of the other marchauntes, Borcharde of fraunce went vnto the hoste and sayd: "Hoste, now is the meryest tyme of the yere, and we be foure marchauntes of foure dyuerse countryes, & by fortune we met all togyder in one place & our iorney is to Parys. And therfore whyle we be so met, lette vs make good chere togyder / & ordeyne *the* best meet *that* ye can get for money agaynst to morowe, and byd also some of your beste frendes that you loue mooste, that

[Douce's Pencil Note. "This cut was used in Boorde's Introd." From the title-page of my reprint of that book for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series this year, I borrow the cut. The date of Pynson's edition of *Frederyke of Jennen* must have been 10 years or more before William Copplande's of Boorde's *Introduction* in 1547 or 1548.]

[1] Shrovetide is Shrove Tuesday, and may fall on any day between Feb. 2 and March 8.

we maye make good chere togyder or that we departe fro hense / and we shall contente you all your money agayne." And than the hoste sayde that he wolde do it with a good wyll, and than went he, and bad many of his good frendes and neyghbours to dyner; and he bought of *the* best meet that he coude get for money, and brought it home. And on the morowe he dressed it, and made it redy agaynst dyner, after the best maner *that* he coude. And whan *that* it was dyner[1] . . . . e gestes to dyner & the marchaun*t*es . . . . them welcome. Than bad *the* mar . . . . at he sholde brynge in the meete. & . . . . myght go to dyner. And than the . . . . wyll. Than when the hoste and . . . . meet & set it theron & pray- . . . . gestes to them & syt downe togyder . . . . good chere al *the* daye longe with good honestey . . . . as very late with daunsynge & lepynge. And wh[an they h]ad done / the gestes toke theyr leue of the marchauntes, & thanked them for theyr good chere. And than euery man departed home to his house. And than cam the marchauntes to the hoste, & prayed hym hertely for to come in, & thanked hym that he had ordered & done all thynges so well and manerly.

[2] ¶ How two of the marchauntes / as Johan of [Florence] and Ambrosius of Jennen hyld one another .v. thousand golde guldens.

wHan al *the* marchaun*t*es & the gestes had made merye togyder al the daye longe / at nyght the gestes toke theyr leue of *the* marchaun*t*es / & than*k*ed them for theyr good chere that they had made them / & so departed euery one to theyr lodgynge. And whan that they were departed euery man to theyr house / than wexed it late. And than cam the hoste of *the* house to the marchaun*t*es & asked them yf that they wolde go slepe / & they answered vnto theyr hoste "yes." And than toke he a candel, and brought *the* marchauntes into a fayre chambre / where was .iiij. beddes rychely hanged with costely curtaynes that euerye marchaunt myght lye by themselfe. And whan that they were all togyder in *the* chamber / than began they to speke of many thynges / some good / some bad, as it laye in theyr myndes. Than sayd Courant of spayne: "Syrs, we haue be all this daye mery, and made good chere, & euerye one of vs hath a fayre wyfe at home: howe fare they nowe at home, we can not tel." Than sayd boureharde of Frau*n*ce to the other marchauntes: "What aske you how they do? They syt by the fyere, and make good chere and eate / & drynke of the beste, and laboure not at all / & so get they vnto them hote blode; & than they maye take an other lusty yonge man, and do theyr pleasure with hym, *that* we knowe not of / for we be oftentymes long from them, & for *that* cause may *the* lenne[3] a lofe, for a nede, secretly to an other." Than sayd Johan of Florence / "we may all well be called fooles & nydeates that truste our wyfes in this maner as we do; for a woman*s* hert is not made of so hard a stone but *that*[4] [it] wyll melte / for a womans nature is to be vnstedfaste and tourneth as the wynde dothe, and careth not for vs tyll the tyme *that* we come agayne. And we labour dayely bothe in wynde and rayne, and put often our lyues in iopardy and in auenture on the see, for to fynd them *with*all; & our wyfes syt at home, and make good chere *with* other good felowes, &

[1] [Sign. A. ii. (b).] [2] Leaf 2. Sign. A. iij. [3] they lend.
[4] The signature is Frederyke of Jennen.

gyue them parte of the money that we get. And therfore, an ye wyll do after my counsayle / let euery one of vs take a fayre wenche to passe *the* tyme wi*th*al, as well as our wyfes do / & they shall knowe no more of that / than we knowe of them." Than sayde Ambrosius of Jenne*n* to them: "By goddes grace, that shall I neuer do whyle *that* I lyue! For I haue at home a good & a vertuous woman, and a womanlye. And I knowe [wel that] she is not of that dysposycyo*n* / but *tha*t she wil eschewe . . . of all suche yll abusyons tyl the tyme that I com home agayn. For I knowe well that she wyl haue non other man but me alone. And yf that I shold breke my wedlocke, than were I but lytell worthe." Than sayd Joh'n of Florence: "Felowe, ye set moche pryce by your wyfe at home, and truste her with all that ye haue. I wyll laye with you a wager of .v. thousande guldens, yf *tha*t ye wyl abyde me here, I shal departe, & ryde to Jennen, & do wi*th* your wyfe my wyll." Than sayd Ambrosius to Johan of Florence: "I haue delyuered to my hoste .v. thousand guldens to kepe / put ye downe as moche agaynste it, & I shal tarye here tyll the tyme that ye retourne agayn from Je*n*nen / & yf that you, by ony maner of menes, can get your pleasure of my wyfe, ye shall haue all this money." Than sayd Johan of Florence: "I am content / " and than putted he in his hostes hande other . v. thousande guldens agaynste Ambroses money. And than toke he

[End of Fragment.]

VIII. *Syr Eglamoour.* Of this Romance (translated also from the French) we have at least four manuscript copies: 1. in the University Library, Cambridge, MS. Ff. ii. 38, printed in the *Thornton Romances* for the Camden Society by Mr. Halliwell in 1844; 2. (imperfect) in the Thornton MS.; 3. in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Calig. A. xii.; 4. in the Percy Folio MS., printed in vol. ii. p. 341–389 of the *Ballads and Romances.* (In the notes there I have mistakenly called the Cambridge MS. printed in Mr. Halliwell's Thornton volume, the Thornton MS.); 5. A single leaf of another early copy, says Mr. Halliwell, is preserved in a MS. belonging to Lord Francis Egerton.

Of old printed editions before 1575, the earliest that we know is in 1508, 'Sir Glamor, Edinburgh, be Walter Chepman and Andro Myllar,' of which an imperfect copy is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. The other editions are London ones, not dated, by William Copland, (a copy among Selden's books in the Bodleian), and by John Walley (a copy in the British Museum): and one of these, Captain Cox doubtless had.

The story of the Romance is told by Mr. Halliwell in Ellis's Metrical Romances, and by me in the side-notes of the Percy Folio print, and narrates how the poor knight Sir Eglamore loves Christabel, the fair daughter of the Earl of Artoys, and how he

undertakes three Deeds of Arms to win her; how accordingly he kills the giant Marrocke and a big Boar, a second Giant, and a Dragon near Rome; how before marriage he begets a boy on Christabell, with which, when born, she is put out to sea alone in a ship, and a Griffin flies away with the boy. She is driven to Egypt, her boy carried to Isarell, while Eglamore, mourning them both as lost, fights and dwells for 15 years in the Holy Land. Then his son, Degrabell, wins his own mother Christabell at a tournament, and weds her; but before the marriage is consummated she discovers that Degrabell is her son, and their marriage void. At the second tourney, Eglamore wins his Christabell; they marry; and rule Artoys.

The romance of *Torrent of Portugal*, edited by Mr. Halliwell, has almost the same incidents as *Sir Eglamore*, and is a version of the same story.

IX. *Syr Tryamoour*. Mr. Halliwell edited this romance for the Percy Society in 1846 from the earliest known MS. of it, of the time of Henry VI., in the Cambridge University Library. Another MS. of it is in the Bodleian Library; and a third in the Percy Folio, printed in the P. F. *Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii. p. 78–135.

Of old printed editions we know only two, both without date, by Wyllyam Coplande: 1. 'imprinted at London in Temes strete vpon the thre crane wharfe,' of which a copy is among Garrick's books in the British Museum; 2. 'imprinted at London, —with a different cut on the title to that of the first ed.,—of which a copy is among Selden's books in the Bodleian. To use, with little change, Mr. Hales's words, "the story tells how a good lord (Arradas) and his gentle lady (Margaret) were estranged by the treachery of their steward (Marrocke); how their son (Triamore), conceived in honour, was born in exile and shame; how, after many a weary year, the execrable fraud was discovered; and how, at last, the son (who has, in the meantime won himself a wife, the beautiful Helen of Hungary, by many doughty deeds of arms) and his mother, are happily united to the grieving husband." As the steed, Arundel, was so prominent a feature in *Sir Eglamore*, so in *Sir Triamore* is Sir Roger's hound, who never leaves his master's grave, except to get food, and who bites that master's murderer, Marrocke, through the throat. Sir Roger is the faithful old knight who accompanies the lady Margaret in her exile, till Marrocke kills him.

X. *Syr Lamwell.* The earliest form of this romance that we know, is Thomas Chestre's *Syr Launfale* in the Cotton MS. Caligula A. 2, leaf 33 etc., printed in Ritson's Early English Metrical Romances[1], which is taken from No. 5 of Queen Marie's *Lais*, that Dr. Mall is about to re-edit. This version differs in form, and somewhat in matter, from the later MS. version printed from Bp. Percy's Folio MS. in the *P. F. Ballads and Romances*, i. 142. When the Introduction to the Percy Folio "Sir Lambewell" was written (vol. i. p. 142), the incomplete copy of the Romance in the Rawlinson MS. C. 86, (about 1508 A.D. says Mr. Halliwell) was unfortunately overlooked, though Sir F. Madden had mentioned the piece in his description of the MS. in his *Sir Gawayne* for the Bannatyne Club. From this MS. twenty-nine lines—that which should be the 18th is left out in the MS—are now printed below, as a sample, from a copy made by Mr. George Parker of the Bodleian :—

[Rawl. MS. C. 86. leaf 119*b*.]

landavall.

Sothly by Arthurys day
was bretayn*e* yn grete nobylé;
For yn hys tyme a grete whyle
He soiourned at Carlile;
He had w*ith* hym a meyne there,
As he had ellys-where, [leaf 120.]
Of the rounde table the kynght*es*[2] all*e*,
With myrth*e* and Joye yn hys hall*e*.
Of eache lande yn the worlde wyde
There cam*e* men on eu*e*ry syde,
Yonge kynght*es*[2] and Squyers,
And othir Bolde B[a]chelers,
forto se that nobly
That was w*ith* arthur all*e*-wey;
for Ryche yeftys and tresour
He gayf to eache man of honour.
W*ith* hym there was a Bachiller
[And had ben there full many a yeer,]
A yong*e* kynght*e*[2] of mushe myght;
"Sir landevale" for-soith*e* he hight*e*.
Sir landevale spent blythely,
And yaf yeft*es* largely;
So wildely his goode he sett,
That he fell*e* yn grete dette.
"Who hath no good, goode can he none,
And I am here in vnchut[3] londe,
And no gode haue vnder honde;
Men will*e* me hold*e* for a wrech*e*.
Where I be-come, I ne reche."
He lepe vpon a Coursier

[&c., about 530 ll.—leaf 128. Ab. 1480 A.D.]

We have now, therefore, five different versions, one whole, 4 in part, of the late *Sir Lamwell*—three are in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*—besides the earlier Romance printed by Ritson.

Also, since the publication of the Percy Folio, the Librarian of Cambridge University has shown me a MS. fragment—a page and a quarter, about,—of a much scottified version of Sir Lamwell,

[1] Also in Way's *Fabliaux*, ed. 1815, iii. 233–287, and Halliwell's *Fairy Mythology of a Midsummer Night's Dream* 1845, p. 2–34.

[2] So in MS.

[3] Un-couth, unknown, strange.

differing a little from both the versions printed in the Folio. It is entered in the Index to the Catalogue as "Arthur, on king, iii. 700," and is printed below :—

[Sir Lamuell.]

Listine, Lordings! by the dayis off Arthure
was Britan in greet honoure;
for in his tyme, as he ane quhyll
he sojurneit att coomelie carlille,
& hed with him monie ane aire,
As he hed oftymes els quhair—
Off his round table *the* kny*cht*is all
w*ith* muche mirth in boure & hall,
off evrie land in World so wyd,
thar come to him in eich [a] syd;
ȝoung knichtis, & squyers eik,
& bald baichlers, came him to seik,
for to sie *the* great Nobilnes
that was into his court alwayis;
for he geve rich gifts & treasour
to men of wair & gret hono*ur*
with him ther was ane baicheleir
And hed beene *ther* monie ane ȝeir,
Ane ȝoung kny*cht*, mekill off micht;
'Sir Lamuell' forsuith he hecht.
this Lamuell geve gifts michtilie,
& spaireit not bo[t] geve largelie;
& so librallie he it spent,
miche moir nor he hed in rent;
& so onvyselie he itt fett,
that he came mekill into daitt.
and quhen he sau weill all was gaine,
then he began to mak his moane.
"alas!" he said, "vo is that mann
that na gud heth, nor na gud cann!
and I am far in ane ferang land,
and na gud hes, I onderstand!
men wald me hald for ane wrache,
Quhair I be puir certes, ne riche."
he lapp upon ane fair coursoure,
with-outtin Chyld or ȝit squyoure,
and raid so furth in great murning
to dryve away his soir langing.
his way he tuik tovard *the* west,
betuix ane Vater and ane forrest;
the sone vas then in eveningtyd,
he lichtit doun, & wald abyd.
for he vas hait in *the* Wather
he tuik his mantill, and fald to gidder,
And laid him doune, *the* kny*cht* so free,
Onder *the* shadoŭ off ane tree:
"Alace!" he said, "na gud I heve,
Nor quhair to go! so god me saiff!
And all *the* knichts with ther feires
Off *the* round table that be my peeres,
Eich on to heve me vas full glaid;
Nou will thai be off me full sadd;
Nou wallaway, this is my song."
With soir weiping his hand he wrang,
W*ith* sourou and cair he did ȝell,
Till hevie on a sleip he fell,
& all to soipeit and forweipt.
Quhen he vakuit out off sleip,
Tuo off *the* fairest maids sau he
That ever he did sie with ee,
Come out off *the* forrest, & to him drau;
fairer befoir he never sau;
Kirtils thay hed of purple sendill,
Small laceit, setting fall ane weill;
Mantils thai hed of rid welvet,
Frenȝeit with gold ful veill was sett;
Thai vaire abowe that over all
Upon ther heds a joilie curnall;
ther faces as *the* snou was quhyt,
w*ith* Lufesum cullor off gret delyt;
fairar befoir he never did sie
he thoght *them* Angels off hevins he.
The on bair ane goldin baiseing,
The uther ane touall off Alifyne;
Thai Came him both tovarid twaine;
he vas courtess, vent *them* againe;
"Welcume!" he said, "Madams so frie."
"Sir Kny*cht*!" thai ans*w*reit him,
"Velcu*m* be ȝe!
My Ladie that is brigt as floure,
The grathethe, Sir lamuell, paramo*ur*;
Sho preyith *the* cum & speik with hir,
ȝiff it be nou thy plesor, Sir."
"I am full faine with ȝou for to fair,
for troulie, such as ȝou so rair,
On *the* ground sau I never go:"
Washit his face and hands also,
& w*ith* *the* maids did glaidlie gang,
As merie as marle in hir song.
w*ith*in the forest ther did sie
Ane rich Pavillione *ther* picht ful hie.
Ewrie pom.[1]

Cambridge University Library MS. Kk. 5, 30, leaf 11.

[1] No more written.

The Rawlinson *Landavall* is more like the bit of printed version given to the Bodleian by Mr. Halliwell (and printed in the Appendix to vol. i. of the Percy Folio,) than the text of the Folio itself. Mr. Halliwell says in his "Mythology of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," 1845, that the copy of *Lamwell* mentioned by Sir F. Madden in the Lambeth MS. 305 "seems to be an error for the *Lybeans Discours* in MS. No. 306." "The fabliau or romance of *Lanval* is printed in Le Grand's *Fabliaux et Contes*, ed. 1829; and an English paraphrase of it appeared in 'Tales of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' translated from the French of Le Grand (? by George Ellis) 1796." (Hazlitt.)

Of early printed editions of *Sir Lamwell* we know nothing except one fragment of 8 leaves, and another of one leaf, both in the Bodleian, and both printed in the Appendix to vol. i. of the Percy Folio Ballads and Romances, p. 522–535. Perhaps the first of these is part of the edition licensed to John Kynge in 1557–8:—

To John Kynge, to prynte these bokes folowynge; that ys to saye, a Jeste of syr gawayne[1] / the boke of Carwynge and sewynge[2] / *syr lamwell*; the boke of Cokerye;[3] the boke of nurture for mens sarvauntes;[4] and for his lycense he geveth to the house . . . . . [5]

As these old printed texts are more like the Percy Folio version than the Cotton one, we may sketch the story from the Percy MS.

Among the knights who resort to king Arthur 'in merry Carlile' is the young Sir Lambewell. So prodigal is he of his money, that he soon has none left, and rides off westward alone, While he's sleeping under a tree, two lovely maidens wake him, and lead him to their lovelier mistress, the daughter of the king of Million or Amillion—Oleron, in Chestre's version,—who offers him all he wants, and lies with him that night. Next day she sends him back to Arthur, with plenty of money (and more to come), which he gives away right and left; but if he ever mentions her name, he is to lose her for ever. Queen Guinevere makes advances to Lambewell, which he rejects; and answers her taunts

[1] See below, p. xxxiv, No. XII.

[2] A later edition of Wynkyn de Worde's book which was plagiarised from Russell or his original. Both are in my *Babees Book*.

[3] A Proper New Booke of Cookery. Imprinted at London by John Kynge and Thomas Marshe [1558], 12mo in *Corpus Library, Cambridge*.

[4] Hugh Rhodes's Book, of which Jackson's edition of 1577 is reprinted in my *Babees Book*, with collations of Petyt's edition, before 1554.

[5] The sum is not entered.

by saying that his mistress's lowest maiden is fit to be queen over her. For this she accuses him of trying to violate her; and he is adjudged to prove his boast about his mistress's maiden, or die. Two ladies then ride up, 'much fairer than the summer's dayes;' then two others, fairer still; at last 'a damsell by her selfe alone; on earth was fairer neuer none.' She is Sir Lambwell's love; she clears him of the charge against him, but speaks no word to him; he has broken faith with her. In vain for him do Arthur and his knights plead. She turns to go alone; but as she passes Lambwell, he leaps on her palfrey, swearing he'll never leave her; and in the 'jolly island' called Amilion, they live in bliss.

XI. *Syr Isenbras.* This Romance was printed by Mr. Halliwell from the Thornton MS. in Lincoln Cathedral Library, in his Thornton Romances for the Camden Society in 1844. Another copy is in the Library of Caius College; and from that and the printed copy in Garrick's plays, now in the British Museum, Ellis sketched the story in his E. E. Metr. Romances. This old printed copy is without date, but 'Imprynted at London by me, Wyllyam Copland;' and one leaf of a different edition is among Douce's books in the Bodleian.

Sir Isumbras is proud, and forgets God. An angel announces to him his degradation; and, as from Job, his cattle and dwelling are taken by death and fire; his wife and 3 children alone are left, naked. They start on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; their eldest boy is carried off by a lion; the second by a leopard; the wife by a Saracen soudan; the youngest boy by a unicorn, and his mantle by an eagle. Seven years Isumbras serves as a labourer and a smith, and then helps the Christians win a battle, and slays the Soudan who has taken his wife. Seven years he wanders in the Holy Land, and then an angel tells him his sin is forgiven. As a palmer he enters the palace of his wife, the widow-queen; is there kindly treated, and takes office; and one day gets from an eagle's nest the mantle his youngest boy was wrapt in when he was carried off. This leads to his being made known to his wife, and his coronation as king of the Saracens. He tries to convert them, on which they all join two princes near, whom they have persuaded to invade him. With his wife, Isumbras encounters the whole hosts, and they are about to perish, when three knights, who prove to be his 3 sons—one on a lion, the second on a leopard, the third on a unicorn,—come to the rescue, slay 23,000 of

the unbelievers, and rout the enemy. Taking the 2 princes' kingdoms for 2 sons, they conquer another country for the 3rd, and then have all the inhabitants of the new lands and Isumbras's baptized.

XII. *Syr Gawyn.* "A Jeste of syr Gawayne" was, as we have seen (p. xxxii), licensed to John Kynge in 1557–8, but no part of his edition has reacht us. The last leaf only of another edition 'Imprynted at London in Paule Churche yarde at the sygne of the Maydens heed by Thomas Petyt' is in Bagford's Collections in the British Museum. Four leaves of another edition 'Imprynted at London in Fletestrete at the sygne of Saynte Johan euangelyst by me Johan Butler' are in the Lambeth Library. This fragment was reprinted by Dr. S. R. Maitland in his *List of Early Printed Books at Lambeth*, 1843, p. 297. Of the Scotch romance of Golagros and Gawene, an earlier but titleless copy of 1508 is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and its colophon is 'Heir endis the Knightly tale of golagrus and gawene [imprentit] in the south gait of Edinburgh be Walter Chepman and Andrew Millar the viii day of Aprile the yhere of god M. CCCCC. and viii yheris.' This, with all the other poems he could collect about Sir Gawain, Sir Frederick Madden edited for the Bannatyne Club in 1839. The most important of these poems is the very spirited and vigorous romance of Gawain and the Green Knight from the Cotton MS. Nero A x, which Dr. Richard Morris has re-edited for the Early English Text Society, and of which a poor emasculated modernization (of the 16th century, as I suppose) is printed in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 58–77, and in Sir F. Madden's Appendix No. III. p. 224–242. However, we may feel quite sure that the old black letter 'Jeste of Syr Gawayne' was the one that Captain Cox read; and as the printed fragments we possess of it agree, except in a few words, with the headless version that Sir F. Madden printed in his *Syr Gawayne*, p. 206–223, from a small 4to MS. of Douce's in the Bodleian, written in 1564, and containing several other romances, all "imperfect, and all, apparently, transcribed from early black-letter editions," we can get the story from this MS. Sir F. Madden also notices the last leaf of Petyt's edition among Bagford's Collections, MS. Harl. 5927, art. 32, and says "It is no doubt this romance which is alluded to under the title of *Sir Gawyn* by Laneham. . . . The original author . . . in this instance, as in so many others, is

French; and in the *Roman de Perceval*, fol. lxxiv. *b*, we meet with the entire story." This, as Southey (Pref. to *Morte d'Arthur*, p. xxvi.), and Sir F. Madden (*Syr Gawayne*, p. 349–50) note, contains two different accounts of the opening of the tale, 1. making the meeting between Gawayne and the maiden innocent, though judged guilty by her father and brothers; 2, making it guilty (farther on in the work, by Gawayne's confession), as the English adapter made it. The story runs thus.

Gawayne leaves Arthur at the siege of Branlant. After crossing a river and plain, and passing through a wood, Gawayne comes on a magnificent pavilion, in which, on a sumptuous bed, sleeps a lovely girl, Guinalorete, daughter of the king of Lys (or 'Syr Gylberte, a ryche earle,' as the English story calls him). Gawayne kisses her, and she threatens him with the vengeance of her father and brothers. But—and here the English fragment begins—Gawayne fears no threats, and takes his pleasure in the maiden. Her father finds them together, and reproaches and challenges Gawayne. They fight; Gawayne unhorses and wounds the father, and goes back to the daughter. To the wounded father comes his son Syr Gyamoure, hears what has happened, calls up Gawayne from his sister's side, and fights him. But Syr Gyamoure is soon unhorsed and wounded too, and Gawayne returns again to Guinalorete (whose name is given only in the French romance). Then comes Syr Gylberte's second son, Syr Tyrry, to his wounded father and brother. He too hears of Gawayne's misdeed, calls him from the Pavilion, fights him, but is unhorsed, and hurt, nigh to death; and Gawayne goes back a third time to his sweet may in the pavilion. At last comes to the poor Syr Gylberte and his two wounded sons, the pride of their family, son Syr Brandles (or Brandels). The father tells him too of Gawayne's deeds; Brandles calls Gawayne from the pavilion, and they fight so sore that both are glad to separate, vowing to renew the fight whenever they meet, "utterlye," or to the death. Gawayne puts up his sword and departs, asking only Brandles to 'be frend to that gentle woman,' his sister. 'As for that,' says Brandles,—and here the Petyt leaf begins:—

'She hath caused to day moch shame,
parde;
It is pyte she hath her syght!"
"Syr knight" sayd syr gawane "haue
good day!
For on fote I haue a long way;
An horse were me wonder dere.
Somtyme good horses I haue good
wone,
But now on fote nedes must I gone;

God in haste amende my chere!
Syr gawayne was armed passyng heuy,
On fote might he not endure truelye:
His knyfe he toke in honde,
[H]is armoure good he cut hym fro,
Elles on fote myght he not go;
Thus with care was he bonde.
¶ Leue we now syr Gawayne in wo,
And speake we more of syr Brandles tho.
When he with his syster met,
[H]e sayd, "fye on the, harlot stronge!
[I]t is pyte that thou lyuest so longe!
Strypès hardè I wyl set,
[A]nd betè thè, both backe and syde!"
[A]nd then wolde he not abyde;
But to his fader streyte he went.
Then he axed hym how he fared;
[H]e sayd, "son, for thè haue I cared,
[I] wende that thou haddest ben shent."
Brandles sayd, "I haue bet my syster;
[A]nd the knyght, I made hym swere
That, when we mete agayne,
[H]e and I wyl togyder fyght
Tyl we haue spended eche our myght,
[A]nd that one of vs be slayne."
So home they went al togyder,

[*Back of leaf.*]
And eche of them helped other
As wel as they myght go.
Then the lady gate her awaye;
They saw her neuer after that day;
She went wandryng to and fro.
Also syr Gawayne, in his party,
On fote he went ful weryly,
Tyl he to the courte eame home.
Al this aduenture he shewed the kyng,
That with those .iiii. knightes he had fightinge,
And eche after other alone.
After that tyme they never met more;
Ful glad were these partyes Therfore;
So was there made the ende.
I pray god gyue vs all good rest,
And those that have harde this lytle geste,
And in hye heuen for to be dwellyng,
And that we al, vpon domes day,
Come to the blysse that lasteth aye,
Where we may here the aungels synge.

¶ Imprynted at london in Paule[s] churche yarde at the sygne of the maydens heed, by Thomas Petyt.

Over this, is a separate colophon of Petyt's (No. 31), dated 'In the yere of our Lorde God. M. D. XLij.,' but it clearly does not belong to the Gawayne *Jeaste*. A duplicate of this colophon is on leaf 49 of Bagford's MS. No. 181.

The French romance gives us the sequel of the Geste. It makes Brandelys and Gawayne meet and fight again. Guinalorete, with her child Giglain, interposes between them twice; and Brandelys, who has been struck down, is persuaded to yield, is made a Knight of the Round Table, and grants forgiveness to Gawayne, 'who begs it on his knees.' (*Madden*, p. 351.)

Sir Thomas Maleore "the compiler of the *Morte d'Arthur* does not insert this episode in his work, but has a distinct allusion to the circumstance, when he says 'Thenne came in Syr Gawayne with his thre sons, Syr *Gyngelyn*, Syr *Florence*, and Sir *Louel;* these two were *begoten upon Sir Brandyles syster;* and al they fayled.'—Vol. ii. p. 383. Sir Brandelys was subsequently, together with Florence and Louel, slain by Lancelot du Lac and his party, at the rescue of Queen Guenever. *Ibid.* ii. 401, 403." (*Syr Gawayne*, p. 351.)

XIII. *Olyuer of the Castl.* "Ye Historye of Olyuer of Castylle and the Fayre Helayne. [Colophon] Here endeth ye historye of Olyuer of Castylle, and of the fayre Helayne doughter vnto the kynge of Englande. Inpryuted at London in flete strete at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde. The yere of our lorde M. CCCC. and xviij." "A Spanish Romance," says Mr. Halliwell, "very popular throughout Europe, and translated into most European languages." I have just looked at the 'Contents' of Loys Costé's Rouen edition[1] of 'L'Hystoire de Ollivier de Castille, et Artus d'Algarbe, Preux & vaillans Cheualiers, Auec les[2] proesses de Henry de Castille, filz de Oliuier, et de Helaine, fille du Roy d'Angleterre: et les grandes aduentures ou ilz se sont trainez contre leurs ennemys, comme pourrez voir cy apres," (*Brit. Mus.* $\frac{12450 \cdot e}{1-6}$) and find that it tells how Oliver's mother-in-law lusts for him—"ce n'estoit que fragilité naturelle de femme, qui suit sa sensualité contre honneur,' says the old French publisher (?) in his *Epilogation*—that he rejects her advances, goes to England, and—being armed by a knight to whom he promises half his prize—beats every one in a 3-days' tourney, the prize of which is 'la belle Helaine,' the lovely daughter of the King of England. Oliver tries to conceal himself, but is taken, and brought to the Court. Then he takes the King of England's side against the King of Ireland, who has invaded England. Oliver heads the English host, discomfits the Irishmen, follows them to their own country, brings back 7 kings prisoners, and is rewarded by fair Helen's hand. But soon the son of one of Oliver's Irish prisoners captures Oliver himself; and Artus of Algarbe, hearing this, comes to London, mistakes Helen for her husband, and lies by her, purely, and then rescues Oliver. Oliver however hears a wrong story of his wife and Artus, and wounds Artus; but on learning the truth, prays forgiveness. Afterwards Artus falls ill, and to save him, Oliver kills his own two children, and gives their blood to his friend. This heals Artus; God brings the children to life again; and Artus and Oliver go to Castille. Then the knight who armed Oliver for his London tourney claims Oliver's son as his half of Oliver's prize; but, seeing the grief of Oliver and Helen, restores them their boy, and vanishes into Heaven. Oliver then marries his daughter to Artus of Algarbe. Oliver

[1] It is not dated, but the Museum Catalogue puts ? 1625. It is translated from the Latin, by P. Camus. *Orig.* lec.

and Helen die; their son Henry is captured, and dies in the Saracens' land; while Artus becomes King of Castille and England.

XIV. *Lucres and Eurialus.* The original of this Romance was written in Latin by Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II., born 1405, died 14 Aug. 1464.[1] One copy of the edition of 1443, in the British Museum—which has another copy on vellum, and others in the Pope's Works—has no title, but is headed "Enee Siluij poetæ Senensis . de duob*us* am*an*tibus Eurialo et Lucresia . opusculum ad Marianum Sosinum feliciter Incipit prefatio." It has sheets a, b, c, d, in eights, and e in four; and the Colophon is "Explicit opusculu*m* Enee Siluij de duobus am*an*tibus In ciuitate Leydensi Anno Domini Millesimo CCCC° quadragesimo tercio . Leien."

It was translated into Italian in 1554, "Epistole de Dvi Amanti composte dal fausto et eccellente Papa Pio tradutte in uulgare con elegantissimo modo. In Venetia per Matthio Pagan, in Frezaria all' insegna della Fede. M. D. LIIII."

Of English editions we know three.

1. ¶ The goodli / history of the most noble / and beautyfull Ladye / Lucres of Scene in Tus/kane, and of her louer Eurialus verye / pleasaunt and / delectable / vnto y^e^ / reder./ 4to, black letter, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, in fours; but in the unique Museum copy, H iv, the last leaf, is wanting, containing the last verse of the envoy, or "Le. A. to the Reder," and the Colophon. Mr. Hazlitt dates the book '*circa* 1549.'

For this copy in the British Museum I had 4 vain searches in the Catalogues, but then found it under 'Lucretia of Sienna,' Case 21. c. It has *y* very often for *i* of No. 2, and has better readings. Mr. Hazlitt says that Bagford speaks of an impression in 4to by William Copland,—perhaps the same as No. 3.

2. Mr. Henry Huth has a unique copy of an edition in small 8vo, dated 1560, 'imprinted at London by John Kynge,' (A B C D E F G H in eights) which he has kindly lent me, and from which the extracts below are printed, though collated for words with the Brit. Mus. ed.; and 3. in the Pepys Library at Magdalen College, Cambridge, Mr. Hazlitt notes an edition of 1567,

[1] He was an able man, but of loose morals, and spent the latter years of his life in extending the power of the Papacy, thus undoing much of the work of his earlier years when he strove to curb that power. He was on an embassy in Scotland, to make peace between the English and Scotch, when James I. was slain. Pius II. was a great patron of learning, and a bitter enemy of the Turks.

'Imprynted at London in Louthbury by me Wyllyam Copland.' The date 1567 is no doubt right, as other books of W. Copland's are known as late.

The story is a somewhat warm one for an embryo Pope to have written, though the moral of it is to warn men against unlawful love, as its pains are greater than its pleasures. As the verse envoy says:

Yet coulde I shewe you of many other mo,
Yf leyser not wanted, but now I let it pas,
Whiche by theyr loue were constrayned also
To mortal death; more pitye alas!
therfore thys boke in Englysh drawe was
For an example, therby to eschew
the paynes of loue, ere after they it rewe.

The interest of the book—such as it is—is the curious disclosure of the false notions of honour and right prevailing in Italian society in the middle of the 15th century. Its story is this:—

When the Emperor Sigismund enters the town of Sienna in Tuscany, four ladies meet him, among whom,

Lucres the yong Ladie, not yet of twenty yeres, shone in great bryghtnes, yong maryed, in the famyly of the Camilis, vnto a very rich man named Menelaus, vnworthie too whom suche beautye shulde serue at home, *but wel worthye of his wyfe to be deceyued.* The stature of the Lady Lucres was more hygher than the other. Her heare plenteous, and lyke vnto the goulde wyre, which hanged not downe behinde her, after the manner and custome of maydens, but in goulde and stone she had enclosed it; her forhed highe, of semelye space, wythoute wrynkell, her browes bente, facioned with fewe heares, by due space deuydcd, her eyne shining with such brightnes that, lyke as the sonne, they ouercame the behoulders loking; with those she might, whome she woulde, slee, and slayne, when she wold, reuyue. Strayt as thriede was her noose, & by euen deuision parted; her fayre chekes, nothyng was more amiable then these chekes, nor nothyng more delectable to behold, wherin, whan she dyd laughe, appeared two proper pyttes[1], whiche no man did se, that wished not to haue kissed. Her mouth smal and comely, her lippes of corall colour, handsom to bite on; her small tethe, wel set in order, semed Cristal, throughe which the quiueryng tonge dyd send furth, not wordes, but moost pleasaunt armony. What shall I shewe the beautye of her chynne, or the whitenesse of her necke? No thyng was in that bodie not too bee praysed, as the outwarde aparaunces shewed token of that that was inwarde[2]: no man beheld her *that* dyd not enuye her husbande. . . . Nothyng was more sweter, nor soberer, than her talcke. . . . Her apparell was diuers; she wanted nether broches, borders, gyrdels, nor rynges. The abilimentes of her head was sumptuouse, many pearles, many diamantes, were on her fingers and in her borders. (Sign. A. ii. back, to A. iiii. *cd. Kynge;* A ii back to A iii, *Brit. Mus. ed.*)

This young beauty, and Eurialus of Tuscany, a companion of the Emperor's, fall in love with one another at first sight, and

[1] pytes, *Kynge.*
[2] of that was in warder, *Kynge;* of that that was inwarde, *Brit. Mus. ed.*

desire one another, but are unable to meet. At last, Lucres trusts her secret to Zosias, an old Almayne servant of her husband's; but he only pretends to deliver her messages, and puts her off. Eurialus, unable to get another messenger, sends a letter to Lucres by a bawd. Lucres orders the woman off, and tears the letter in pieces before her; but after she is gone, puts the pieces together, and reads the letter. A correspondence follows, and Lucres, holding back at first, at length consents to receive Eurialus into her house. But her *brother-in-law's* plan to admit him is frustrated by her mother, and then Eurialus is sent to Rome for 2 months. Lucres mourns; but on his return, his servant finds him a tavern near, out of whose window he can talk to Lucres. Zosias is then convinced that as the love *will* go on, it must be kept secret; and he lets Eurialus in, disguised as a porter, among other men carrying wheat. Eurialus takes Lucres in his arms. Her husband comes; she hides Eurialus first in one closet and then, by a trick, in another, till Menelaus her husband has gone, and the lovers are left alone:—

Lucres was in a lyghte garmente, that without plyght or wrynkell shewed her bodye as it was, a fayre necke, and the lyght of her[1] eyne lyke the bryght sonne, gladsome countenaunce and a merye face, her chekes lyke lylyes medled wyth roses; swete and sober was[2] her laughyng, her breast large, and the two papes, semynge apples gathered in Venus gardaine, meued the courage of toucher.[3] (Sign. E. iiii. back, *Kynge's ed.*; E. ii. *Brit. Mus. ed.*)

The lovers meet again for an hour when Lucres's husband has gone to the country, and Zosias brings in Eurialus from the hayloft. Then, as no other chance of meeting is open to them, Eurialus has recourse to *Menelaus's cousin*, Pandalus, to arrange a meeting for them. Eurialus shows him that if he doesn't do this, Lucres will either kill herself or run away with him, and thus bring open scandal on her family and her husband's: whereas, if he'll manage the matter quietly, nothing will be known, no harm will be done, but great good, and Eurialus will get the Emperor to make Pandalus an Earl! So one night, when Menelaus is away, Lucres lets Eurialus into the house, swoons from excitement, but recovers, and they spend the night together.

After long waiting, they avoid Lucres's watchers, and often meet; but then the Emperor determines to go to Rome, and Lucres proposes to Eurialus to carry her off with him. He how-

[1] *Kynge* leaves out 'her.' [2] as, *Kynge.* thoucher, *Kynge.*

ever declines to face the scandal and danger of this, hoping to be able to come back to her soon. But the separation makes him fall ill; and when he does get back to Sienna, he can only see Lucres from the street, and write letters to her. She shortly dies of grief; he loses all pleasure in life,

& yet, though the Emperour gaue hym in mariage a right noble and excellente Ladye, yet he neuer enioied after, but in conclusyon pitifully wasted his painful lyfe.

The fruitless attempt of another knight, Pacorus, to make love to Lucres, is told in the little book, which shows how corrupt and false the ideas on love of Italian gentlemen and ladies of the time must have been.[1] Two extracts from the book, on Italian women, and servants, are given in the *Notes* to my edition of Andrew Boorde's *Introduction* and *Dyetary* etc. for the Early English Text Society, Extra Series, 1870.

We are also indebted to another original of Pope Pius II.'s for another English translation:

'Here begynneth the Eglogues of Alexander Barclay, preest, whereof the fyrst thre conteyneth the myseryes of courters and courtes, of all prynces in generall. The matter wherof was translated into Englyshe by the sayd Alexander, in fourme of Dialoges, out of a boke named in Latin *Miseria curialium*, compyled by Æneas Silvius, Poete and Oratour, whiche after was Pope of Rome, and named Pius.' Colophon: 'Thus endeth the fourthe Eglogge of Alexandre Barcley, conteyning the maners of riche men anenst poetes and other clerkes. Emprinted by Richarde Pynson, printer to the kynges noble grace.' 4to, black letter, 22 leaves, with woodcuts.

XV. *Virgil's Life.* Not that of the Roman poet Publius Virgilius Maro, but of his Middle-Age representative, when he (Virgil) was turned into a Magician: "This Boke treateth of the Lyfe of Virgilius, and of His Deth, And Many Maruayles that he dyd in hys Lyfe Tyme by Whychcrafte and Nygramancye thorough the helpe of the Deuyls of Hell. [Colophon] Thus endethe the lyfe of Virgilius, with many dyuers consaytes that he dyd. Emprynted in the cytie of Anwarpe By me Johan Doesborcke dwellynge at the camerporte [*circa* 1520] 4to, 30 leaves. Bod-

[1] A wife's brother-in-law, and her husband's cousin, both help her to commit adultery; lust, called love, is held more binding than marriage; women's passions alone are their guide; wives are watched like criminals; and every married woman is fair game.

leian (Douce)"—*Hazlitt.*[1] Another edition—"the booke of Virgill"—was licensed to William Coplande in 1561–2,[2] and is no doubt the incomplete copy among Garrick's books in the British Museum. Mr. Thoms says that this edition is so imperfect that he couldn't reprint it, and he had therefore to take Mr. Utterson's reprint of Doesborcke's, which was of course more handy, and saved trouble. This (*Thoms*, ii. 21–59) tells us that Virgilius was the son of a 'knyght of Champanieu' and the daughter of a Roman Senator, and was born in the days of the grandson of Remus, whose father slew his uncle Romulus. The boy learnt necromancy from books which he was shown by a devil, who wriggled out of a hole in a hill when Virgil pulled out a board there. The devil had been conjured and shut up there, out of a man's body, till the Judgment-day; and Virgil, having got his books, bet the Devil he couldn't wriggle into the hole again. But the Devil did it, and then Virgil shut him up again. Virgil then taught at Tolenten, came to Rome to recover his heritage, which he did by miraculous magic, shutting up his castle and lands in fixed air, making the Emperor Perseydes and his army lift their feet up and down in the same place for a day, etc. Then he made love to the fairest lady in Rome, and was by her hung out—like Hippocras (see my *Saint Graal*)—in a basket half-way up her tower, for which he revenged himself by making the angle between her legs, she being set on a scaffold, the only place where a light could be got for 3 days in Rome. Then he married a wife; then he made a set of idols for all the countries subject to Rome, so that when any of the countries were going to rebel, its idol rang a bell, and gave the Senators notice. Then he made a copper horse, man, and dogs, to hunt and kill all the thieves and night-walkers in Rome; then an ever-burning lamp; then the goodliest orchard in the world; then an image that deprived of lust every woman that lookt at it, which Virgil's wife, at the Roman women's request, twice cast down, for which Virgil hated her, and left the women to work their will. Then he indulged in the Sodan's daughter, whom he carried off by a bridge of air; and, when caught on his second visit, delivered himself by magic, carried the lady away, and built Naples for her; 'and the fundacyon of it was of egges.' Then the Emperor of Rome

[1] This was reprinted by Utterson, and for Pickering in 1827, in Mr. Thoms's *Early Prose Romances*, a work revised and reprinted in 1858.

[2] Stationers' Register A, leaf 73 back; Collier's *Stat. Reg.* i. 47.

besieged Naples, and Virgil delivered it, and peopled it with scholars and merchants. Then he made a metal serpent to bite off false-swearers' hands; but an artful woman evaded the punishment, and Virgil destroyed his serpent. Lastly, he made a wonderful castle, and told his man to cut him in pieces, salt him, and let oil drop from a lamp for 9 days on him, so that he might get young again. But just before the charm was completed, the Emperor killed the man who lookt after the lamp; on which, a naked chylde—the new Virgil, underdone, no doubt—ran 3 times round the barrel, saying "cursed be the tyme that ye cam euer here," and vanished; "and thus abyd Virgilius in the barell, dead."

On the legend, Mr. Thoms's Introduction, vol. ii. p. 1–17, may be consulted.

XVI. *The Castle of Ladiez.* "Here begynneth the Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes the which boke is devyded into iii partes. The fyrst parte telleth how & by whom the wall & the cloystre about the Cyte was made. The seconde parte telleth how & by whom the Cyte was buylded within & peopled. The thyrde parte telleth how & by whom the hygh battylments of the towres were parfytely made" &c. No place or date. 4to. Dibdin (*Ames* ii. 378) calls the copy *he* saw, a very 'curious and amusing volume,' says that it's in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and gives an extract from the first chapter which doesn't show the character of the book at all. Mr. Hy. Huth has another copy of the book, which was originally in Mr. F. S. Ellis's hands, incomplete, but Mr. Lily completed it by a facsimile page. Mr. Huth is unluckily in the country when this sheet goes to press; but on his return he will enable me to report on the book and its story in my *Notes*, and settle whether Laneham's *Castle of Ladiez* is this *Cyte of Ladyes*. If it is not, the *Castle* is not now known to bibliographers.

XVII. *The Wido Edyth.* Of this, before Laneham's time, we know two editions, 1. John Rastell's in 1525, 'Enprynted at London at the sygne of y^e^ Meremaid at Polls gate next to Chepe syde The yere of our Lord. M. V. C. XXV. The xxiii. day of March,' of which a copy is at Wentworth,[1]

"The Widow Edyth. XII mery gestys of one called Edyth
The lying Wydow whych yet still lyueth."

[1] Of this edition not more than 3 copies are known. It extends to sign. D. iii. Hazlitt's *Jest Books*, 3rd series, p. 28.

2. Richarde Johnes's: "XII mery Jests of the wyddow Edyth. 1573:" and this gives the supposed author's name "Finis. by Walter Smith." Copies are in the Bodleian, and in Mr. Hy. Huth's library. Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reprinted the 1573 edition in his capital collection of Early Jestbooks 1860, 3rd series, p. 27. The *Jests* are anecdotes of how Widow Edyth cheated people by representing herself to be a rich widow; and the poem is written by one Walter Smith,—seemingly a servant of Sir Thomas More's at Chelsea—one of her lovers. The list of the Twelve Jests from Mr. Hazlitt's reprint will be, perhaps, enough account of the book:

The first mery Jest declareth, how this faire and merye Mayden Edith was maryed to one Thomas Ellys, and how she ran away with another, by whom she had a bastard Doughter, and how she deceiued a Gentleman, bearynge him in hand how her Doughter was Heire to faire Landes and great Richesse.

The second mery Jest: how this lying Edyth made a poore man to vnthatch his House, bearyng him in hand that she wold couer it with Lead: and how she deceiued a Barbour, makyng him beleue she was a widow, and had great aboundance of Gooddes.

The thyrd mery Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceiued her Hoste at Hormynger, and her Hoste at Brandonfery, and borowed money of them both, and also one mayster Guy, of whome she borrowed iiii. Marke.

The fourth mery Jest, how this wydow Edith deceiued a Doctor of diuinitie, at S. Thomas of Akers in London, of v. Nobles he layd out for her, and how she gaue hym the slyp.

The fifth merye Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceiued a man and his wife that were ryding on Pylgremage, of iiii Nobles that they laid out for her; and how she deceiued a scriuener in London, whose name was M. Rowse.

The sixt merye Jest: how this wydowe Edyth deceiued a Draper in London of a new Gowne and a new Kyrtell; and how she sent hym for a Nest of Gobblets and other Plate to that scriuener whome she had deceiued afore.

The vii mery Jest: how she deceiued a seruant of Sir Thomas Neuells, who in hope to haue her in Mariage, with al her great richesse, kepte her company tyl al his money was spent; and then she tooke her flight, and forsooke him.

The eight mery Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceyued a ser-

uaunt of the Bysshop of Rochesters, with her coggynge, and boastynge of her great Richesse; who like wise thought to haue had her in Maryage.

The ix mery Jest: how she deceiued a Lord, so*m*-tyme Earle of Aru*n*dell: and how he sent v. of his men seruantes and a hand-maid to bere her company, and fetch her Daughter, who, as she boasted, was an Heire of great Landes.

The tenth merye Jest: how she deceiued three yong men of Chelsey, that were seruantes to Syr Thomas More, and were all three suters vnto her for Maryage: and what mischaunce happened vnto her.

The xi. mery Jest: how she deceiued three yong men of the Lord Legates seruants, with her great liyng, crakyng, and boastyng of her great Treasure and Jueiles.

The xii. merye Jest: how this wydow Edyth deceyued the good man of the three Cuppes in Holburne, and one John Cotes: and how they both ryd with her to S. Albans to ouersee her houses and landes: and how thei were rewarded [or sold, and had to ride back to London, the widow having slipt away from them: "God saue the Wydow, where euer she wende!" says the forgiving Smith in his last line].

Walter Smith, the writer of the poem, comes-in in 'the Tenth mery Jest' (p. 75). The widow, after taking-in the Earl of Arundel, stops at Eltham for 3 weeks and a day, then walks to a thorp [village] called Batersay, takes a wherry, and is rowed over to Chelsea, where she is housed at Sir Thomas More's. There she boasts so of her property at Eltham—2 worsted looms, 2 mills, a brewery, 4 plows, 15 men-servants, 7 maids, etc. etc.—

> 'That three yong men she cast in a heat,
> Which seruants were in the same place,
> And all they woed her a good pace.'

The first was Thomas Croxton, servant to Master Alengton; the second Thomas Arthur, servant to Master Roper—Sir Thomas More's son-in-law; and the third was Walter Smith, who dwelt at Chelsea. After the widow has gammoned Croxton and Arthur, Smith meets her in the cloister, takes her in his arms, kisses her, and tells her how he loves her. She says she loves him, and that when she comes to Chelsea again, she'll bring him a crucifix of pure gold as a remembrance of her;

> Than Wa[l]ter stode on tipto, and gan him self avance;
> "I thank you," quod he, "euen with all my hart."
> He kissed her deliciously, and then dyd depart.

She comes back to Chelsea the same night; but by then, Thomas Arthur has found out what an impostor she is; and they play her a trick, put 'Pouder Sinipari' in her food, give her a violent purging, and then get her put in jail for 3 weeks.

XVIII. *The King and the Tanner.* The notice of the earliest printed edition of this short story is in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 116 back, (Collier, i. 99)

W greffeth Receaved of William greffeth, for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled "the story of kynge henry the iiijth and the Tanner of tamworth" . . . . . iiij^{d}

But no copy of this is now known. The earliest printed copy we know is that by Danter in 1596, which Percy cookt sadly in his *Reliques*, ii. 91, ed. 1812, where it is called "A merry, pleasant and delectable history between King *Edward* the Fourth and a Tanner of Tamworth." Heywood also took Edward as the hero of the ballad, and used its incidents in his *Edward the Fourth*, Shakespere Society, 1842 (*Collier*). The earliest copy of the ballad known to us is a strongly provincial one in the MS. More Ee, 4, 35, in the University Library, Cambridge, which has been printed by Ritson in his Pieces of *Ancient Popular Poetry*, 1791, and by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1864, i. 1, as "The King and the Barker." It does not name its king, and makes its tanner one of 'Dantre' or Daventry in Warwickshire, but tells the same story as Danter's copy of 1596: 'The kyng' overtakes a tanner riding a cob, and sitting on a lot of black cow hides; the tanner takes the king for a thriftless scamp, and then for a thief, when he sees the king's men; but they talk together, and when Lord Basset kneels to the king, the tanner is afraid for his life. Then the king changes his high horse for the tanner's low one, to go hunting under the branches; the tanner puts his cowhides on the king's saddle, their horns prick the horse, and he breaks the tanner's head against the bough of an oak. The king laughs; they change horses again; the tanner promises the king a drink the next time they meet in Daintry, and the king gives him a hundred shillings.

Ballads and stories of like kind to this are 'John de Reeve' and the 'Kinge and Miller' in the Percy Folio *Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii. 147, 559, 'Rauf Coilzear,' 'King Edward and the Shepherd,' 'The King and the Hermit,' etc. In the East as well as the West, the subject of kings mixing familiarly with their

poor subjects has been popular; Haroun-al-Raschid, as well as King Alfred, is an instance of it. See Percy's and Prof. Child's introductions to 'Edw. IV. and the Tanner of Tamworth,' etc.

XIX. *Frier Rous.* No copy of this book is known before 1620, but Collier, i. 199, gives this entry from the Stationers' Register A (on leaf 179,)

Alde R. of John Alde, for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled "Freer Russhe" . . . . . iiij^{d}

As John Alde's son Edward issued the edition of 1620, which is reprinted in Thoms's *Early Prose Romances*, vol. i. p. 261, ed. 1858, it is probable that the later edition did not differ much from the one that Captain Cox read. "The Historie of Frier Rush: How he came To A House of Religion to Seeke Service, and Being Entertained by The Priour, was First made Under Cooke. Being Full of Pleasant Mirth and Delight for Young People," tells how Rush (or Puck, or Robin Goodfellow,) is 'a divell' sent by Belphegor, Asmodeus, and Beelzebub, as a servant into a Monastery, where he brings to the Prior a fair young gentlewoman, and to all the monks the women they most desire; throws the Cook into a kettle of boiling water, for beating him; gives the friars bacon in their pottage on fast-days; makes truncheons for them and sets them all by the ears, so that they have a regular fight, ending with broken heads, arms, and legs; puts tar instead of grease to the Prior's waggon- (or carriage-) wheels, makes him pay for wine he doesn't drink; breaks the dormitory stairs, so that all the friars come tumbling on one another as they go to matins; and cuts a farmer's cow in two, and cooks one half for the friars. Then comes the old episode of the Devils meeting and reporting their deeds, and he who's made the Religious sin, getting highest praise[1]: but the farmer overhears the reports, tells the Prior that Rush is a devil, and he is accordingly turned out. He turns better; goes as servant to a husbandman whose wife is unfaithful with the Priest; and then catches the Priest hidden, first in a chest, afterwards in some straw, and lastly in a basket hung up by a rope. Rush throws the Priest on the dunghill, whacks him, drags him through a pool, and through the town, at his horse's tail. He does the husbandman's heavy work in a trice; gets another devil conjured out of a girl's body by his friend

[1] See R. Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, etc.

the Prior, carries a load of lead up to the Prior's church-roof, flies home with the Prior on his back; and then the Prior "commaunded him to goe into an olde castle that stood farre within the forrest, and never more to come out, but to remaine there for ever. From which Devill and all other Devills, defend us good Lord! Amen!"

XX. *Howleglas.* Of this work we know of three different editions by Wyllyam Copland, though of each only one imperfect copy has survived. One copy has no colophon; the other two were printed after Wyllyam Coplande had left his predecessor Robert's old house, the Rose Garland in Fletestrete. The first of these, that in the Brit. Mus., was 'Imprynted at London in Tamestrete at the Vintre on the three-Craned Wharfe;' the second, or Bodleian copy, was 'Imprinted at Lothbury;' where W. Copland printed from 1562–3 (see my *Boorde Forewords*, p. 19) to 1567 (see above, p. xxxix). The earliest ed. must have borne date after 1547 (the latest date of Robert Coplande's books) or 1548 (the earliest date of Wyllyam Coplande's). To Mr. Collier is due the credit of having brought the Lothbury edition to public notice, and of having shown that the Bodleian copy was possibly the poet Spenser's, and lent by him to Gabriel Harvey[1] (*Bibliographical Catal.* i. 379–381). The title is "Here

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[1] [4°. Z. 3. Art. Seld. (Bodl. Libr.) last page, back of Colophon.]

This Howletglasse, with Skoggin, Skelton, & L[a]zarill[o], giuen me at London, of Mr. Spensar / xx. Decembris, 1[5]78. on condition [y^t I] shoold bestowe y^e reading of them ou[er] before y^e first of January, j[med]iatly ensuing: otherwise to forfeit unto him my Lucian jn fower uolumes. Whereupon I was y^e rather jnduced to trifle away so many howers, as were jdely ouerpassed jn running thorowgh y^e f[oresai]d foolish bookes: wherein methowg[h]t not all fower togither seemed comparable for s[utt]le & crafty feates with Jon Miller / whose witty shiftes, & practises ar rep[o]rted amongst Skeltons Tales. [Dyce's *Skelton's Works*, vol. i, p. lxvi.]

[*In the same hand, previous page, but crossed through with the pen:*—"Skeltons only Jon Miller, worth all Howletglasse, Skoggin, and Skelton besyde."]

The book, says Mr. G. Parker, has evidently been read through, as many passages are underlined, and crosses and strokes occur in the margin; and in the *Table*, at end, there are lines, crosses, and notes, all by the same hand.

TABLE. Thus:—*How howleglas wold flye fro a house top.* [*MS. note,*] Skoggins patterne.

„ after chapt. 12, is added in MS.
A miracle upon y^e hault, & lame. Id*em* jn Mensa philosophica

„ on the next page blynde [*MS. note*].
how howleglas gaue, xx, gyldens *to, xii, poore men* for Christes loue,

„ next line A great braggadocia [MS. note].
how howleglas feared *his host w^t* a *dead woulfe.*

beginnethe a merye Jeste of a man called Howleglas, and of many maruelous thinges and Jestes that he dyd in his lyffe in Eastlande and in many other places." The book is sm. 4to, without date, printed by Copland. 2 copies of this work are in the British Museum. Here are the Prologue and Contents:—

The Prologue.—For the great desyryng and praying of my good frandes,[1]—and I *the* first writer of this boke might not denye the*m*, —Thus haue I comp[y]led[2] & gathered much knauyshnes & falsnes of one Howleglas, made and done within his[3] lyfe, whiche Howleglas dyed *the* yeare of our lorde God. M. CCCC. &. L.[4] Nowe I desyre to be pardoned both before ghostly & worldly, afore highe & lowe, afore noble and vnnoble. And right lowly I requyre all those *that* shall reade or heare this prese*n*te Ieste, my ignorau*n*ce to excuse. This fable is not but only to renewe *the* mindes of men or women of all degrees fro*m* *the* vse of sadnesse, to passe the tyme with laughter or myrthe, And forbecause *the* simple knowyng persones shuld beware if folkes can see. Me thinke it is better to[5] passe the tyme with suche a mery Ieste, and laughe there at, and doo no synne, than for to wepe, and do synne.

Contents.—Howe Howleglas, as he was borne, was christened iii. tymes vpon one day. How Howleglas aunswered a man that asked the hyghe waye. How that Howleglas sat vpon his fathers horse, behynde hym. How Howleglas fell fro the rope into the water. How Howleglas mother learned hym, a*n*d bad him go to a craft. How Howleglas got bread for his mother. How Howleglas was stolen out of a bye-hyue by nyght. How Howleglas was hyred of a pryest. How Holeglas was made a paryshe clarke. How Howleglas wold flye fro a house-top. How Howleglas made hymselfe a physicion, and how he begyled a doctour with hys medicines. How Holeglas made [that] a sicke chylde shylde shyte, *that* afore myght not shyte, and howe he gat great worship therof. How Howleglas made hole all the sycke folke that were in the hospytall, where the spere of our lord is. How Howleglas was hyred to be a bakers seruan*t*. How Howleglas was put in wages with the foster of Anhalte, for to watche upon a tower to se wha*n* his enemies came, and than for to blowe an horne to

[1] frendes, B. [2] compled, A; compyled, B. [3] dis, B.
[4] The end of the book says 'M. CCC. & fyftie.' [5] no, A; to, B.

warne them therof. How Howleglas wan a great deale of mony wyth a poynt of foolyshnesse. How the duke of Lunenborough banyshed Howleglas out of his lande. How Howleglas set his hostyse vpon the hoote asshes with her bare arce. How Howleglas toke vpon hym to be a paynter. How Howleglas had a great disputacion with all the douctours of Pragem in Bemen. How Howleglas became a pardoner. How Howleglas did eate for money in the towne Banberbetche. How Howleglas went to Rome to speke with the pope. How Howleglas deceived iii. Jewes with durt. How Howleglas had gotten the persons horse by his confession. How Howleglas was hyred of a blacke smyth. How Howleglas was hyred of a shoemaker. How Howleglas serued a tayler. How Howleglas solde turdes for fat. How Howleglas through his subtle disceytes deceyued a wyne drawer in Lubeke. How Howleglas became a maker of Spectacles, and howe he could fynde no worke in no lande. How Howleglas was hyred of a marchaunt man to be his cooke. How howleglas was desyred to dyner. How howleglas wane a piece of cloth, of a man of the country. How howleglas gave xx. gyldens to .xii. poore men, for Christes loue. How howleglas feared his host with a dead woulfe. How howleglas flied a hound, and gaue the skyn for halfe hys dynner. How howleglas serued *the* same hostise another tim[e], and laye on a whele. How Howleglas serued a holander with a rosted aple. How Howleglas made a woman that sold erthen pottes to smyte them all in pieces. How Howleglas brake the stayres that the munkes shulde come down on to matyns, and how thei fell downe into the yarde. How Howleglas bought creame of the women of the cuntrey that brought it for to sell. How Howlegl[a]s came to a scholer, to make verses with him to the vse of reason. How Howleglas was secke at Molen[1], and how he dyd shyte in the poticaries boxes, and was borne in the holy ghoste. How Howleglas deceiued his ghostly father. How Howleglas made his testament. How Howleglas was buried.

¶ Thus endeth the lyfe of Howleglas.

XXI. *Gargantua.* 'The History of Gargantua, a romance translated from Rabelais, and alluded to by Shakespeare. A book entitled "The History of Garagantua," was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in 1594, but there was no doubt a much earlier edition. The author of Harry White's Humour, 1640,

[1] Mr. Halliwell prints 'moten.'

"is of this opinion, that if the histories of Garagantua and Tom Thumbe be true, by consequence, Bevis of Hampton and Scoggin's Jests must needes be authenticall." '—*Halliwell*, p. 14. Rabelais was born about 1483; he began to publish his Gargantua and Pantagruel in parts in 1535; and he died in 1553. As we have no notice of an English translation before 1575, it is possible that Laneham had seen the French original in his travels, and spoke of that here, without thinking whether Captain Cox knew French or not.

XXII. *Robin Hood.* The entries before 1575 under this heading in Mr. Hazlitt's Handbook, are

1. A geste of Robyn hode. (A very imperfect copy of an edition from the press of W. Chepman and A. Myllar, *circa* 1508, in 4to, black letter, is in the Adv. Lib. Edinb. A perfect exemplar should consist of — leaves.)

2. (*a.*) Here begynneth a lytell geste of Robyn hode. (Colophon) Explycit. Kynge Edwarde and Robyn Hode & Lytell Johan. Enprented at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sone By Wynken de Worde. n. d. 4to, 32 leaves. With a woodcut on the title page, and Caxton's device at end. In verse. Public Library, Cambridge (held to be unique).

(*b.*) A lytell Geste, etc. 4to, black letter. Printed with the same types as W. de Worde's edits. of Memorare Novissima and Thordynary of Christen men. Bodleian (Douce's fragm.).

(In a bookseller's Catalogue for 1865 were several leaves of this tract, ascribed to Pynson's press, but query.)

3. (*a.*) A mery geste of Robyn Hoode and of hys lyfe, wyth a newe playe for to be played in Maye games very plesaunte and full of pastyme. (This title is over a woodcut of Robin Hood and Little John.) (Colophon) Thus endeth the play of Robyn Hode. Imprinted at London vpon the thre Crane Wharfe by wyllyam Copland. [ab. 1561.] 4to, black letter, 34 leaves, or J 2, in fours. Br. Museum (Garrick). (The Geste commences on the back of the title page, thus; Here begynneth a lytell geste of Robyn hoode and his mery men, and of the proude shyryfe of Notyngham: concluding on H 2 recto with, 'Thus endeth the lyfe of Robyn hode.' On H 2 verso begins the Play, and occupies 9 pages, ending on J 2 verso.)

. . . . . .

4. As Robyn Hood in Barnesdale stood. (Mentioned in

Udall's translation of 'Erasmi Apothegmata,' 1542, but no early copy has yet been found.)

5. A ballett of Robyn hod. Licensed to John Allde in 1562–3.

As Wyllyam Copland's edition of the *Mery Geste and Play* is the one nearest to Laneham's time, we'll suppose that 'the black Prince' and Captain Cox had it, and say what it contains.

The well-known *Lytell Geste* tells in 8 fyttes how 1. Robin,—with Little John, Scathelock, and Much, the miller's son,—feeds and clothes, and lends £400 to, a knight who is mourning for the almost certain loss of his lands, pledged for £400 to the Abbot of St. Mary's, York, because his son has slain a Lancashire knight and a squire. 2. The day for redemption of the mortgage arrives; the Abbot makes sure of getting the land, and has bribed the Justice to take his side, when the knight comes to beg for longer time to pay off the mortgage in, and offers to serve the Abbot till he can repay him. The Abbot refuses scornfully, and appeals to the Justice to declare that the place is his. On this the Knight pulls out Robin's £400, and gets back his land. He afterwards saves up the money, and starts with 100 bowmen, carrying 100 bows etc. as a present, to pay Robin; and on his way releases a strange archer at a match, who has beaten all the other shots, and is to be slain from envy. 3. Little John[1] turns man-servant to the Sheriff of Nottingham, gets up a row in the house because he has to wait for his dinner, fights the big cook, and then persuades him to join in robbing the Sheriff, and going off to Robin Hood. In the forest, Little John finds the Sheriff, and by a trick brings him to Robin, who makes him sleep in the forest, and lets him go, on his swearing never to hurt Robin or his men. 4. Little John, Much, and Scathlock, take a monk of St. Mary's Abbey, York, and frighten away 50 of his 52 followers. Robin gives the monk a dinner, and takes away all his gold, £800 and more. The knight to whom Robin had lent £400, then brings it him back, with 20 marks interest, and a present of 100 bows with arrows, etc. Robin accepts the bows, but refuses the £400, as he's already been paid by the monk of St. Mary's. He then gives the knight another £400 for his bows. 5. The Sheriff

[1] He is represented in the woodcut on Copland's title-page as a fierce little man in complete armour, with his right hand on a very big scimitar, sheathed, and his left hand carrying a battle-axe longer than himself, while Robin Hood is a very tall archer, with bow, arrows, and feather to match.

of Nottingham proclaims a shooting-match. Robin wins the prize. The Sheriff tries to take him and his men; but they make good their retreat to Syr Rychard-at-the-Lee's friendly castle. 6. There the Sheriff besets them, but Sir Richard bids him off, and says he'll answer to the king for his acts. To London the Sheriff goes; and the king promises him that he'll come to Nottingham in a fortnight, and take Robin. Meantime the Sheriff waylays Sir Richard; but his wife at once tells Robin; and he overtakes the party, kills the Sheriff, and frees Sir Richard. 7. The King comes to Nottingham, finds all his deer gone, and is very wroth, but can't find Robin Hood. At last, drest like an Abbot and monks, the king and five of his knights soon meet Robin, are robbed of all their money, £40, and the Abbot (or King) invites Robin to dine with the King. Glad at this, Robin gives the Abbot dinner, serves him, has a shooting-match for him, and takes a buffet from him when he, Robin, misses putting his arrow inside the rose-garland bull's-eye. Then Robin and Sir Richard recognize the King; kneel, and crave pardon, which is granted. 8. The King gets Robin to clothe him and his knights in green; they all go together to Nottingham, and Robin stays at court for 15 months till all his money's gone. Then he journeys home to 'Bernysdale' and dwells 'in grene wode' twenty-two years, till the wicked Prioress of Kyrkesley, incited by Sir Roger of Donkestere, lets him blood, to his death.

The 'newe playe for to be played in Maye games, very plesaunte and full of pastyme' as the title-page says, or 'verye proper to be played in Maye games,' as the heading on leaf H ii back (unsigned) has it, is a dramatization, with changes, of 'Robin Hood and Friar Tuck,' and 'Robin Hood and the Potter.' Ritson says in his *Robin Hood Ballads* that he has reprinted the Play 'in another place.' Robin tells his men how he fought with a Friar, and the Friar took his purse. Who will go and fetch the Friar? Little John volunteers; but Friar Tuck appears; and after much mutual abuse, the Friar takes Robin on his back, and throws him into the water. They fight; Robin blows for his men; the Friar whistles for his men, not dogs:—

> Now cut and bause,
> Bring forth the clubbes and staues,
> And downe with those ragged knaves,—

when Robin proposes to the Friar to serve him, and have not

only golde and fee, but also 'a Lady free.' The lady or 'huckle duckle' as the Friar calls her, he eagerly accepts; and then comes the second incident. Robin complains of a proud Potter who won't pay passage-money for his use of the road. Who'll make him? Little John says that none of 'em can; but Robin undertakes to do it. Then the potter's boy appears, and Robin smashes all his pots. The Potter comes up, abuses Robin, and offers to fight him with sword and buckler. Robin accepts, tells Little John

> Be the knaue neuer so stoute,
> I shall rappe him on the snoute
> And put hym to flyghte.
>
> Thus endeth the play of Robyn Hode.

Whether the Potter got rapt on the snowt, 'wyllyam Copland' of 'the thre Crane wharfe' does not say; but doubtless the play, when acted, wound up with the Potter's beating and flight.

Six imperfect versions of Robin Hood ballads differing somewhat from any others known are in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. 1, p. 13–58. 'Robin Hoode his Death,' p. 50, is the most important.

We know from Latimer and Stubbes what a hold the Robin Hood games had on the common folk in their days. In Henry the VIII's time Robin was popular at Court too. Witness Hall's accounts, of which here is one:—

"The kyng, sone after [Henry VIII, after 12 Jan. 1509–10] came to Westminster with the Quene, and all their train: And on a tyme beyng there, his grace, therles of Essex, Wilshire, and other noble menne, to the number of twelue, came sodainly in a mornyng into the Quenes Chambre, all appareled in shorte cotes of Kentishe Kendal, with hodes on their heddes, and hosen of the same, euery one of them his bowe and arrowes, and a sworde and a bucklar, like outlawes, or *Robyn Hodes men;* whereof the Quene, the Ladies, and al other there, were abashed, as well for the straunge sight, as also for their sodain commyng: and after certain daunces, and pastime made, thai departed." *Hall's Chronicle*, p. 513, ed. 1809. See too the Maying of 1515, when the king's guard dressed up as Robin Hood and his men, and gave the king and queen a venison breakfast at Shooter's Hill, *ib.* p. 582.

XXIII. *Adam Bel, Clim of the Clough, and William of Cloudesley.*

Of this well-known ballad on the three bold outlaws of the north we know only, 1. an early fragment which Mr. Hazlitt thinks was printed by Wynkyn de Worde (*E. Pop. Poetry*, ii. 132) and which Mr. J. P. Collier said in 1865 was 'not long since discovered as the fly-leaf to another book' (*Bibl. Catal.* i. 11); 2. a complete though incorrect edition among Garrick's books in the British Museum, 'Imprinted at London in Lothburye by Wyllyam Copland', doubtless after 1561, though it is not in the Stationers' Register A. But in this MS., on leaf 24, next to an entry of a license to 'William Coplande,' stands, under the year 1557–8, this:

To John Kynge, to prynte this boke Called Adam bell &c.; and for his lycense he geveth to the howse . . . . . [*no sum.*]

We get a notice of another edition (no doubt) before 1575[1] in Register B, (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 155) by Awdeley who wrote the *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*,[2] and was called John Sampson, or Awdeley, or Sampson Awdeley.

[1581–2] 15 Januarij.

John Charlwood. Rd. of him, for his lycence to printe theis Copies hereafter mentioned, &c. Copies which were Sampson Awdeleys, and now lycenced to the said John Charlwood &c. . . . Adam Bell.

Some pleasant talk and bibliographical cram on the ballad and its subject, the reader will find in Mr. Hazlitt's introduction to it in *Early Pop. Poetry*, ii. 131, and Mr. Collier's *Bibl. Catal.* i. 11, while a slightly differing copy of the ballad is in the *Percy Folio Ballads*, iii. 76–101. The story of the ballad is so widely known as hardly to need mention. William Cloudesley goes from the green forest to see his wife and children in the town: there he is betrayed by an old woman he has kept for charity 7 years; his house is burnt, and he taken, and condemned to die. Adam Bell and Clim of the Clough get into the town, cut Cloudesley loose at the foot of the gallows, rescue him, and all get away to the merry greenwood. There Cloudesley finds his wife and children; then goes with his son to London, and, by the Queen's intercession, gains the King's pardon for himself and his friends. But afterwards, when the King hears of 300 men, the Mayor, Con-

[1] 'No book with a date being known from Awdeley's press after 1576.' (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 156.)

[2] See our edition of it, with Harman's *Caueat*, etc., E. E. Text Soc. Extra Series 1869.

stables, Catchpolls, Bailiffs, Beadles, and Serjeant-at-law, of Carlisle, all slain by the outlaws,—besides 40 of his own foresters,—he regrets that he hasn't hanged the outlaws all three. Cloudesley then beats all the king's archers, and, like Tell and other mythic folk, splits an apple on his son's head at sixscore paces with an arrow, is made a gentleman, his wife chief gentlewoman of the Queen's nursery; and all the three outlaws live with the King, and die good yeomen all. Thus were the merry men wont to 'fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world.'

XXIV. *The Churl and the Burd.* Of this popular poem by Lydgate we have no less than seven printed editions before Captain Cox's time, besides more manuscript copies. Caxton's first edition, about 1479, is in the University Library, Cambridge; his second, about 1480, is in the York Chapter Library, and has been reprinted for the Roxburghe Club. Wynkyn de Worde's first edition was printed in Caxton's house, about 1500 A.D.; his second 'in the Fletestrete in the sygne of the Sonne,' and a copy is in the University Libr. Cambr. Of Pynson's edition a copy is in the Grenville collection in the British Museum. Johan Mychell's edition was 'pri*n*ted at Cantorbury in Saynte Paules parysshe' about 1540, and copies are among Selden's books in the Bodleian, and at Bridgewater House. Lastly, Wylliam Copland's edition was 'Imprented at London in Lothburi ouer against Sainct Margarytes church' after 1561, and was reprinted by Ashmole in his *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1652, 4to. In 1840 Mr. Halliwell printed the poem from the Harl. MS. 116, leaves 146–152, in his *Minor Poems of Dan John Lydgate* for the Percy Society, p. 179–193. There must be several other MS. copies of it. The moral of the poem, translated 'out of the Frenssh,' and that taken from the Latin, is, that you're not to be too fast to believe all the tales you hear, not to cry for spilt milk, and not to covet what you can't get. A Churl is very fond of his garden, and adorns it with trees, alleys, a fountain, etc. On a laurel in its midst, a beautiful gold-bright Bird sings often 'a verray hevenly melodye.' This Bird the Churl catches, and proposes to put it in a cage to sing to him. But the Bird says it can't sing in thraldom, only in liberty; the Churl'd better let it go, and then it'll come and sing to him every day, and will also tell him 'thre grete wysdoms . . . more of valewe . . . thane al the golde that is shet in [his] cofre.' On this the Churl sets the Bird free; and the Bird tells him 1. Give not

too hasty credence to every tale or tiding; 2. Desire not a thing which it is impossible to recover; 3. 'For tresoure loste, maketh[1] never to [=too] gret sorowe.' Then the Bird tells the Churl that he's been a great fool to free her, for she has, inside her, a wondrous *jagounce* stone which would have made him victorious in battle, given him plenty of treasure, kept him from all hurt, made every one love him, kept his heart light, etc. The Churl believes it all, feels his heart part in twain at the treasure he has thus lost, and bitterly laments that he has misst the chance of living like a king. Then the Bird comes back and mocks him, says it's all nonsense, and his dull wits have forgotten all her 3 wisdoms; she warned him not to believe every tale he heard, not to sorrow for things suddenly lost, not to covet what he couldn't recover. He's broken all three maxims; it's no good teaching a churl terms of gentleness; and so she flies her way.

XXV. *The Seaven Wise Masters.* This set of stories is better known to manuscript men by its verse title of "The Seven Sages," as Weber has printed it from the incomplete earliest English text in the Auchinleck MS. ab. 1320–30 A.D., with a head and tail from the later Cotton MS. Galba E ix.—'The Proces of the Sevyn Sages,'—in his *Metrical Romances*, i. 1–153, and Mr. Thomas Wright has printed it from the MS. Dd. i. 17, in the Cambridge University Library, for the Percy Society, 1845, with a separate long Introduction, to which I must refer the reader. M. Paulin Paris and divers French and German critics have written on the subject since. The earliest English prose version known to us—made from the early printed Latin *Historia Septem Sapientum*[2]—was printed by Wynkyn de Worde:

Here begynneth thystorye of y^e^. vii. Wyse Maysters of rome conteynyng ryght fayre & ryght ioyous narracions, & to y^e^ reder ryght delectable. [Col.] Thus endeth the treatyse of the seuen sages or wyse maysters of Rome. Enprented in flet strete in y^e^ sygne of the sone by me Wynkyn de worde. [*circa* 1505.] 4to, black letter, 80 leaves. With several page woodcuts. Brit. Museum. (*Hazlitt.*) Incomplete. One cut is repeated for each Tale of the Empress, and another cut for each Tale of the Masters; but it's a pretty book.

The next is Wyllyam Copland's (? 1548–1560) at the sygne of the Rose Garland. Of two editions entered as licensed in the Stationers' Registers we know no copy: 1558 A.D., lf. 31, "Thomas marshe / Thomas marshe ys lycensed to prynte y^e^ *pro*nostication

[1] make ye. [2] Ellis's *Specimens*, p. 409 (Bohn).

of Lewes Vaughan; Bevys of hampton; The vij wyse m*aster*s of Rome. [etc.] . . . xx*d*." A.D. 1566, MS. leaf 141. "purfoote / ℞ of Thomas purfoote, for his lycense for prynting of a boke intituled the vij m*aster*s of Rome &c. / . . . vj*d*."

Mr. Hazlitt enters two early editions of a poetical version, but the second is not noticed in the Stationers' Register A, and the first is too early for it:—

(*a*.) "Sage and prudente Saynges of the Seuen wyse Men, in English Verse, by Robert Burrant, with a Comment. Lond. by Rich. Grafton, 1553. Sm. 8vo, black letter.

(*b*.) Lond. by John Tisdale, 1560. Sm. 8vo, black letter.

As Captain Cox couldn't have had the poetical version from the MS. noticed above, and I don't know where any copy of Grafton's or Tisdale's edition is, we will assume that the Captain had the prose book, and sketch it as well as we can from the imperfect copy of Wynkyn de Worde's edition in the Museum.

When the wife of Poncianus, Emperor of Rome, dies, she besecches her husband not to let the 2nd wife that he'll take, have any control over her son Dyoclesian[1]. She dies, and the Emperor gives his boy over to the care of Seven Wise Masters, 1. Pantyllas, 2. Lentulus, 3. Craton, 4. Malquydrac, 5. Josephus, 6. Cleophas, 7 not named. Then, urged by his lords, the Emperor marries again; but his second wife cannot conceive, and therefores wishes and plots the death of his son Dyoclesian. (*Leaf B* i. *out*. The Empress gets the Emperor to send for his son. The youth, after 16 years' training, finds from the stars that unless he keeps dumb for 7 days, he'll be killed;) and so, when Dyoclesian comes to the palace, he won't speak to his father. The Empress takes him to her room, says she wants to have joy of his person, and shows him her breasts and body. He rejects her advances, and she screams, and declares he's tried to violate her. The Emperor orders his son to be hanged, but his lords persuade him to put the youth in prison, and have him tried. The Empress is angry at this, and by a tale (*Empress I.*) warns the Emperor that he'll meet with the fate of the burgess of Rome who (*leaf B* 6 *out*) had a tree with an 'imp' or sucker, had the old tree cut down to let the sucker grow, and when that was a tree, cut that down too. Thus Dyoclesian will cut down the Emperor. On this the Emperor orders Dyoclesian to be taken to execution; but as he's going

[1] In *Ellis*, the Emperor is Diocletian, and the son Florentin.

there, Pancyllas stops him, and tells the Emperor a tale (*Masters I.*) of how a wife, not looking under an upset cradle for her child, persuaded her husband to kill his best greyhound, which had, in fact, upset the cradle while killing a serpent who was trying to bite the child. The Emperor respites his son for that day; but then the Empress tells him another tale that makes him order his son's death; and the next Master tells him another that makes him countermand it. So they go on till, after the seven days, Dyoclesian can speak, and expose his step-mother, who is then handed over to the law, to be judged to death. The tales or 'examples,' after the first on each side given above, are:

Empress II. The Boar and the Shepherd. An Emperor promises his only daughter to the man who'll kill a great boar. A shepherd tries to do it, climbs up a tree, and throws down fruit to the boar which it eats till it gets to sleep. Then the shepherd holds on to the tree with one hand, claws the boar's back with the other, and at last drives his knife into its heart.

Masters II. (leaf C 6 out.) *The Husband out of doors.* A burgess of Rome marries a fair proud well-born girl. At nights she leaves him when she thinks he's asleep, and goes to her lover. Now, as the Roman watch take up all persons found in the streets after curfew, put 'em in prison for the night, flog 'em, and set 'em in the pillory next day, the old husband one night locks his door while his wife's out, to let her get punished. She begs hard for admission, says she'll drown herself rather than be shamed, and then drops a big stone into a well. The old husband, taken-in by this, rushes down-stairs to the well, lamenting his drowned wife; but she slips in-doors, locks the old man out, and there the watch catch him, and give him the customary punishment.

Empress III. The Father murdered by his son. A spendthrift knight gets his son to help him rob the Emperor Octavian's treasure, by digging a hole under the tower it's kept in. To catch the thief, the treasurer puts a vessel filled with pitch and gums into the hole. Father and son come again; the father falls into the vessel up to his neck, and tells his son to cut his head off, and then run home. The son does this. To find out the robber, the father's dead body is drawn through the streets. When his daughters see it, they shriek, and the officers rush up; but the son wounds his mouth, and declares his sisters shrieked at that. So they avoid discovery: the father's body is hung up, and the son doesn't bury it or his head.

Masters III. The Magpie. A merchant has a fair false wife, whose misdeeds his magpie tells him, and he upbraids her for them. One time that he is away, his wife lets in her lover, and the Magpie declares he'll tell his master. The wife gets up a ladder to the roof of the house, makes a hole in it, and pours sand, stones, and water, on the Magpie. When the merchant comes home, the Magpie tells him of his wife having her lover last night when snow, hail, and rain, fell on the pie's back. The wife declares it's all a lie; the weather was quite fair. So too say all the neighbours; and accordingly the merchant wrings the Magpie's neck. Then he sees the ladder, and pots of sand, stones, and water; and goes off sorrowing to the Holy Land. [Comp. Chaucer's Manciple's Tale.]

Empress IV.[1] *The Emperor* [*Herowdes*, Ellis] *and Merlin.* An Emperor has 7 wise Masters who make him blind whenever he goes out of his palace, and who oppress his people, and charge them a florin apiece for every dream they interpret. At length the Emperor threatens the 7 Masters with death unless they cure him. They can't do it, but, hearing a wise child, Merlin, interpret a dream truly, they take him to the Emperor. The child orders the Emperor's bedclothes etc. to be taken off, and there appears a well, with 7 springs, which are the 7 wise Masters. By Merlin's direction, the 7 Masters' heads are cut off, the springs and well vanish, and the Emperor regets his sight.

Masters IV. The old wise man who bleeds his naughty wife. A wise old knight is persuaded to marry the fair young daughter of the Provost of Rome; but he lies too still in bed for her, and so she resolves to have in the Priest, as spiritual men keep such things more secret than laymen[2]. However, her mother persuades her to try her husband first, and see whether he'll stand her adultery. So, she tries him thrice, 1. she cuts down his favourite tree in his garden, 2. she kills his favourite greyhound before his eyes, 3. at a feast they give their friends, she pulls the tablecloth and everything on it, off the table on to the ground. Then the old knight tames her; has a barber up, and makes him bleed her in both arms till she thinks she'll die; when she repents, and says 'The deuyll may the preest confounde and shame. I wyl neuer loue other but my husbonde.' (See *Le Menagier*, i. 164–5.)

[1] This is the Empress's 6th tale in Ellis.

[2] See *Le Menagier de Paris*, vol. i. p. 162: "Mère," dit la fille, "j'aimeray le chapellain de ceste ville, car prestres et religieux craingnent honte, et sont

Empress V. Is the story of Virgilius and his Images (above, p. xlii) or *Cressus, the rich man*, as Ellis calls it: how 4 knights, enemies of Rome, persuade the Emperor to let them undermine Virgilius's tower and break his images; and how the Romans pour molten gold down the Emperor's throat, and are themselves all destroyed by their enemies. Another short incident is, how Virgil's light, and his hot and cold baths for the citizens, are destroyed.

Masters V. Hippocrates and his nephew (Ellis), or *Ypocras and Galienus.* The famous physician Ypocras has a clever nephew, Galienus, whom he teaches, and sends to the King of Ungary to cure his son. Having seen the child's urine and felt its pulse—'tasted his pounces'—Galienus says the child is not the King's son. The Queen says it is, and threatens the doctor; but is at last obliged to confess that the Kyng of Burgondyen is its father. Then Galienus can prescribe for it, gives it 'to ete, beef, or of an oxe to dry*n*ke,' cures it, goes home, and tells Ypocras what he has done. The old uncle, filled with envy, gets Galienus to stoop to pick a herb, and kills him. After that, Ypocras falls sick unto death, and dies because his nephew is not there to help him.

Empress VI. The Emperor and his Steward's Wife. A very ugly Emperor resolves to attack Rome, and take away the bodies of Peter and Paul. He also wants a fair woman to lie with him, and offers his steward £1000 to get him one. The steward, to get the money, takes his own Wife to the Emperor, who likes her so much that he won't let her go again; and when the Steward confesses she's his own wife, the Emperor banishes him. Then the Emperor proposes to attack Rome, but 6 of the Wise Masters dissuade him from it for 6 days; and on the 7th, the 7th Master clothes himself in a marvellous vesture of peacocks' and other birds' tails, and stands on the highest tower with 2 bright swords in his mouth. The Emperor and his host take the Master for 'Jhesus, the god of y^{e} crysten folke,' flee, and are nearly all killed by the Romans.

Masters VI. The Murderous Knight and his Wife. A poor knight has a fair young wife who sings well, and accepts the offers of 3 knights to give her 100 florins each, and lie with her. She then persuades her husband to let them in at the gate one after the other, at different times, take their money, and cut off their

plus secrets. Je ne vouldroie jamais amer un chevalier, car il se vanteroit plus tost, et gaberoit de moy, et me demanderoit mes gages [?] â engager."

heads. Then the trouble is to get rid of the bodies. Her brother is governor of the watch at Rome, and she makes up a story to him, that her husband quarrelled with a friend and killed him. The brother takes the corpse in a sack, and throws it into the sea. But no sooner has he got back to his sister's, than she says, "The knight you cast into the sea has come back again," and so she makes him get rid of the 2nd corpse, and then the 3rd. To make sure of the 3rd, her brother burns it; and when he afterwards sees a strange knight warming himself at the fire, he thinks it is the corpse come to life a 4th time, and therefore throws the knight and his horse into the fire. After a time the wife and her husband fall out, and he smites her. She waxes angry, and says 'O wretche! wyll ye kylle me as ye haue done the thre knyghtes?" This is over-heard; and the husband and wife are found out, 'drawen atte an horse tayll, and hanged vppon the galowes.'

Empress VII. The two Dreams[1], or *The King that didn't know his own Wife.* A king loves his wife so, that he locks her up in a strong castle, and keeps the key himself. She and a knight in far parts each dream of the other, though neither has seen that other. The knight searches for, and finds, the Queen; she throws him a letter; he does valiant deeds at her husband's court, gets his leave to build a place near his tower, and has a secret passage made into it. There the Queen yields to him, and gives him a ring that the King had given her. This the king sees one day; and the knight has to sham ill, and get home to the Queen and give her back the ring, to prevent being found out. Then the knight first gets the Queen to dress up in foreign clothes as his love, and entertains the king at a feast; and secondly, the knight gets the King to give the Queen away to him as his bride, at his wedding. The wedded couple set sail; and the king discovers the trick, but too late.

Masters VII. The ungrateful Widow. A loving knight dies of distress at having accidentally cut his wife's finger. She at first pretends to be very sorry, and refuses comfort; but afterwards, to make another knight marry her,—a sheriff who has let some one steal a thief's body from the gallows,—helps to take up her husband's corpse, and then mangles it frightfully—knocks its teeth out, wounds its head, and cuts off its ears and stones.—Then she claims fulfilment of the Sheriff's promise to marry her; but he re-

[1] In Ellis, this is made the Wise Masters' 7th story.

proaches her for ill-treating her first husband's corpse, and cuts her head off.

After this, Dyoclesyan exposes his step-mother's adultery, and her attempt to corrupt him; she is left to the law; and Dyoclesyan tells a concluding tale or Example:

Dyoclesyan's Tale. The Two Friends: Alexander and Lodowyke.[1] A knight had a son whom he gave up to a master of a far country to teach. When the son came back, a nightingale sang, and the Father askt his boy to tell him what the bird said. 'That I shall become a great lord; my father shall bring water to wash my hands, and my mother shall hold my towel.' For this the father throws the boy into the sea; but he swims to a land, is pickt up by a ship, and sold to a Duke, with whom he grows into favour. Three Ravens follow the King of this Duke wherever he goes; and he offers his daughter and realm to whoever will rid him of the Ravens. The boy tells him that the Ravens have a dispute: they are father, mother, and child. In a time of famine, the mother left the child and flew away, while the father stopt with it and fed it; yet now the mother wants the child; so does the father: which is to have it? If the King gives right judgment, the Ravens will trouble him no more. The King gives judgment for the Father, and is free of his pests. The boy, Alexander, stays with the king (of Egypt) for a time, then goes to the court of the great Emperor Tytus. There he is made Carver; and Lodowyke, the king of France's son, who is very like Alexander, but weaker, is made cupbearer. Lodowyke falls violently in love with Florentyne, Tytus's daughter; and Alexander makes her such rich presents for his friend, that she lets Lodowyke come to her at night whenever he likes. Alexander is then called home by the death of the king of Egypt, and Guydo, son of the King of Spain, is appointed Carver in his place. Guydo soon finds out, and tells the Emperor of, Lodowyke's tricks with his daughter. Lodowyke denies them, and challenges Guydo; but as he is weak, and Guydo strong, Florentyne bids him go to Alexander. He does so, and finds Alexander preparing for his marriage, and unable to put it off; but as Guydo must be fought, Alexander leaves Lodowyke to personate him, and marry his bride, while he

[1] Compare the Prince's Tale in Ellis. The present one comprises that and another old story.

goes back to fight Guydo. This is done accordingly. Alexander, after a hard struggle, cuts off Guydo's head, and explains his victory to the Emperor by the fact that God always favours the innocent. Lodowyke marries Alexander's bride, but lays a naked sword between her and himself at night. Then Alexander returns, and the sword is no longer needed; but his wife is so indignant at her supposed husband's long neglect of her charms, that she gives her love to another old lover, and with him concocts a poison for Alexander, which nearly kills him, and quite turns him into a leper. Then they dethrone him, and he goes, as a leprous beggar, to Lodowyke, who, by the death of his father and Tytus, has become Emperor of Rome and France. For Alexander's sake, Lodowyke lets the leprous beggar eat before him, and drink out of his own cup; and when the beggar makes himself known, Lodowyke treats him with the greatest kindness. It is then revealed to Lodowyke, that by killing his twin sons, and washing Alexander in their blood, he can cure him. Lodowyke at once cuts his boys' throats, and heals Alexander, and then sends him some way off, that he may come again as a visitor to him. Florentyne is overjoyed to see Alexander; and when Lodowyke asks her whether, if Alexander had been like the leprous beggar, she'd give her twins' lives to cure him, she says 'Yes! ten sons if I had them. We owe our lives and all our happines to him!' Lodowyke then tells her that her boys are dead; but notwithstanding they are soon found, singing praises to the Virgin, with a gold thread round their throats where the knife cut. Lodowyke restores Alexander to his kingdom of Egypt, burns to powder his wife and her paramour, and gives him his own sister in marriage. Then Alexander, as King of Egypt, visits his father and mother; his father holds the basin and water for him, and his mother holds the towel; on which he reminds them of the nightingale's song, and their son, who he is.

Dyoclesyan's father offers to give-up the Empire to him; but he refuses it, helps his father till he dies, and then reigns long and happily. On the history and sources of this Romance of the Seven Sages, see the Introduction to it in Ellis, the preliminary essay in Warton's History of English Poetry, Mr. T. Wright's Preface or Essay for the Percy Society, M. Paulin Paris, etc., on the French *Dolopathos*, besides numerous Germans.

XXVI. *The Wife Lapt in a Morels Skin.* This is an interesting

and amusing old poem on the Charming or Taming of a Shrew, long before Shakspere's famous play, of which the quarto edition bears date 1594. The only old edition now known is,

Here begynneth a merry Jeste of a shrewde and curste Wyfe, lapped in Morrelles skin, for her good behauyour. Imprinted at London in Fleetestrete, benethe the Conduite, at the signe of Saint John Euangelist, by H. Jackson. (No date, 4to, 23 leaves.)

Modern reprints are Mr. Utterson's in his *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817; Mr. T. Amyot's for the Shakespeare Society, 1844; Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's, in his excellent *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. iv. p. 179–226, A.D. 1866. The Poem tells, in 1114 lines, how a good meek man had a curst wife—that is, one with the devil's own temper—and two daughters, one meek like himself, and the other curst like her mother; how the meek daughter got well married; and how, notwithstanding the father's strong warnings, a young man would marry the curst daughter. The courtship, the getting the mother's consent, as well as the girl's and the father's, the wedding-feast, first night and next morning, are all capitally told. The new couple begin business, and everything goes well till the curst bride falls foul of her husband's servants, and then, on his reproving her, abuses him violently. He, much grieved, rides away to let his wife's temper blow over; but when he comes back, she abuses him worse than before. So he has his blind old horse, Morell, killed and flayed; salts the skin that it mayn't stink, and gets a stock of new birch brooms. Then he asks her whether she will be master: she swears she will, and hits him; on which he catches her up, and locks her in the cellar. There they have a regular wrestling-match; he throws her, tears her smock off her back, and lays into her well with a rod in each hand till she bleeds freely, and swoons. Then he wraps her in old Morell's salted hide, which makes her smart; and he declares he'll keep her in it all her life. On this, she promises to amend, and obey him; and he promises never to hurt her again. Her sores are soon cured; and, to test her, her husband gives a feast to his father- and mother-in-law, and friends, and makes his wife wait on them. This she dutifully does, to her mother's great disgust. The mother abuses her son-in-law for his cruelty, and vows she'll see his heart's blood for it. But he tells the old woman that if she doesn't keep quiet, he'll make her dance too, and put her in old Morell's hide. She thinks he means what he

says, and gets out of the house as soon as dinner is done. All the neighbours hold that the bridegroom has done right; and, says the author unknown,

> He that can charme a shrewde wyfe
> Better then thus,
> Let him come to me, and fetch ten pound
> And a golden purse.

XXVII. *The Sak full of Nuez.* This story-book or jest-book was licensed to John Kynge, with two other books, in 1557–8, "a sacke full of newes" (Stat. Reg. A, leaf 22; *Collier*, i. 3). It was afterwards Awdeley's, and then licensed to John Charlwood on 15 Jan. 1581–2, and to Edward White on 5 Sept. 1586 (*Collier*, ii. 155, 215) but the earliest edition now known is, says Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, that of 1673; from which Mr. Halliwell reprinted it in 1861, and Mr. Hazlitt also reprinted it in his *Old English Jest Books*, second series, p. 163. It is a collection of 22 tales, of which Mr. Hazlitt has in his edition suppressed two, as being too gross for publication. I take a sample at random, from p. 173–4. "There was a priest in the country which had christned a child; and when he had christned it, he and the clark were bidden to the drinking that should be there; and thither they went with other people; and being there, the priest drunk, and made so merry, that he was quite foxed, and thought to go home before he laid him down to sleep. But having gone a little way, he grew so drousie that he could go no further, but laid him down by a ditch side, so that his feet did hang in the water, and, lying on his back, the Moon shined in his face. Thus he lay, till the rest of the company came from drinking; who, as they came home, found the priest lying as aforesaid, and they thought to get him away; but, do what they could, he would not rise, but said: 'do not meddle with me, for I lie very well, and will not stir hence before morning: but, I pray, lay some more cloathes on my feet, and blow out the candle, and let me lie and take my rest.'"

XXVIII. *The Seargeaunt that became a Fryar.* This is a jocose poem of 288 lines, said to be by Sir Thomas More, and printed in the postumous 1557 edition of his English *Workes*. An earlier edition of it, "A mery Gest how a Sergeaunt wolde lerne to be a Frere" was "Enprynted at London by me, Julyan Notary, dwellyng in Powlys churche yarde, at the weste dore, at the synge of saynt Marke," no date, 4to, black letter, 4 leaves; and another

edition was "Imprinted at London by Rycharde Jhones," also without date, in 4to, in one little volume with, but after, *The Mylner of Abyngdon.*[1] From this edition of Jhones's, collated with that in Sir T. More's *Workes*, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt printed the poem in his *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 119–129. The moral of the tale is, that a man who has been brought up to one trade shouldn't take to another, but stick to his own business. A young spendthrift drinks away all the money his father has left him, and then borrows more, right and left, which he squanders 'in mirth and play.' Then he goes to 'Saint Katherine'—wherever that may be,—and defies his creditors. One of them asks a Serjeant how to proceed; and the Serjeant undertakes to arrest the Debtor. The Serjeant accordingly disguises himself as a Friar, gets admission to the Debtor's room, and there tries to arrest him. But the Debtor knocks the Serjeant down, and they have a regular fight. At last 'the maide and wife' of the place come up, and beat the Friar-Serjeant about the noll and crown 'till he was well nighe slaine.' Then they throw him headlong down stairs; and the author counsels every man, "His own crafte use; all newe refuse."

XXIX. *Skogan.* On this old collection of Jests, which is attributed to Andrew Boorde, I have commented in my Forewords to Boorde's *Introduction and Dyetary* for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series, 1870. I do not believe it to be Boorde's work, though "many of the Jests turn on doctors and medicine . . . and many are concerned with Oxford life, which we assume Boorde to have passed through. Read the Prologue to the *Jests:*

"There is nothing beside the goodness of God, that preserves health so much as honest mirth used at dinner and supper, and mirth towards bed, as it doth plainly appear in the Directions for Health: therefore considering this matter, that mirth is so necessary for man, I publish this Book, named *The Jests of Scogin*, to make men merry: for amongst divers other Books of grave matters I have made, my delight had been to recreate my mind in making something merry; wherefore I do advertise every man, in avoiding pensiveness, or too much study or melancholy, to be

[1] "A ryght pleasaunt and merye Historie of the Mylner of Abyngdon, with his wife, and his fayre daughter, and of two pore scholers of Cambridge. Where-vnto is adioyned another merye jest of a Sargeaunt that would have learned to be a ıryar." 4to, 14 leaves. The *Mylner* is not by Andrew Boorde.

merry with honesty in God, and for God, whom I humbly beseech to send us the mirth of Heaven, Amen.

"and then compare it with the extracts from Boorde's *Breuiary* on Mirth and honest Company, p. 88, etc.[1]; lastly, compare the first *Jest* with Boorde's chapters on Urines in his *Extrauagantes*, and remark the striking coincidence between the *Jest's* physician saying, 'Ah . . . a water or urine is but *a strumpet;* a man may be deceived in a water,' and Boorde's declaring that urine '*is a strumpet* or an harlot, for it wyl lye; and the best doctour of Phisicke of them all maye be deceyued in an vryne, and his cunnyng and learning not a tote the worse.' (*Extrauagantes*, Fol. xxi. back.)"

"*Scogin's Jests*, an idle thing unjustly fathered upon Dr. Boorde, have been often printed in Duck Lane," says Anthony a Wood, *Ath. Oxon*, i 172. The first edition known to us is in the Bodleian, A.D. 1613; the second is in the British Museum: "The first and best parts of Scoggins Iests: full of witty Mirth and pleasant Shifts done by him in France and other Places; being a Preseruatiue against Melancholy. Gathered by An. Boord, Dr of Physicke." London, F. Williams, 1626. Lowndes names an earlier edition in black letter, undated. The work was licensed to Colwel in 1566[2] (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* i. 120). We see that Laneham doesn't give *Skoggan* to "Doctor Boord," as he does the *Breuiary of Health*. "A. B." may be Any Body, and some of the stories are old ones put into Scogin's mouth, like the following from the edition of 1796, which is altered a little from one in *The Seven Sages* (No. XXV, p. lx, above), and *Le Menagier de Paris*, 1393, p. 158-65.

How Scogin *caused his wife to be let blood.*

After that Scogin's wife had played this prank, she used so long to go a gossiping, that if her husband had spoken any word contrary to her mind, she would crow against him, that all the street should ring of it. Scogin thought it was time to break his wife of such matters, and said to her, "I wish you would take other ways, or else I will displease you." "Displease me!" said she, "beware that you do not displease yourself!" "yea," said Scogin, "I will see that one day, how you will displease me:" she still continued her approbrious words: at last, Scogin called her into a

[1] Of my ed. of the *Introduction and Dyetary*. [2] *Ib.* p. 31.

chamber, and took one of his servants with him, and said to her "Dame, you have a little hot and proud blood about your heart, and in your stomach; and if it be not let out, it will infect you and many more; therefore be content; there is no remedy but that blood must be let out:" "I defie thee," said Scogin's wife, and was up in the house top: "yea!" said he: "come," said Scogin to his servant, "and let us bind her to this form." She scratched and clawed them by the faces, and spurned them with her feet so long, that she was weary: so at the last she was bound hand and foot to a form. "Now," said Scogin to his servant, "go fetch a chyrurgeon, or a barber that can let blood." The servant went and brought a surgeon. Scogin said to him, "sir, it is so, that my wife is mad, and doth rave; and I have been with physicians, and they have counselled me to let her blood: she hath infectious blood about the heart, and I would have it out:" "sir," said the chyrurgeon, "it shall be done." Scogin said, "she is so mad, she is bound to a form;" "the better for that," said the surgeon: when Scogin and the surgeon entered into the chamber, she made an exclamation upon Scogin. Then said Scogin, "you may see that my wife is mad; I pray you let her bleed both in the arm and the foot, and under the tongue:" Scogin and his man held out her arm, and they opened a vein named Cardica. When she had bled well, "now stop that vein," said Scogin, "and let her blood under the foot." When she saw that, "sir, said she, forgive me, and I will never displease you hereafter:" "well," said Scogin, "if you do so, then I do think it shall be best for us both." By this tale is proved, that it is a shrewd hurt that maketh the body fare the worse, and an unhappy house where the woman is master.

There are 59 anecdotes of Scogin and his tricks in the edition of 1796; but the one above will perhaps be enough for the reader.

XXX. *Collyn Clout.* This is the well-known vigorous satire of Skelton[1], poet-laureat to Henry VIII, against the pride and ill deeds of Cardinal Wolsey[2], the clergy, monks, and friars; the

[1] I assume that it is not Barnes's skit against Andrew Boorde for his attack on beards,—"The treatyse answerynge the boke of Berdes, compyled by *Collyn Clowte*, dedycatyd to Barnarde barber, dwellyng in Banbery" (1542 or 1543 ?), reprinted at the end of my edition of *Boorde's Introduction* etc. 1870, p. 305–316.

[2] Skelton's special satire against Wolsey is his "*Why come ye nat to Courte ?*" Works, ed. Dyce, ii. 26. Compare Roy's bitterer satire against the Cardinal, *Rede me and be not wroth*, 1527; and the *Impeachment of Wolsey* in my 'Ballads from Manuscripts,' Pt. 2, Ballad Soc. 1871.

neglect of learning and politics by the nobles, and the anti-church and heretical spirit among the commonalty. It was edited by Mr. Dyce in his *Poetical Works of John Skelton*, 1843, vol. i. p. 311–360, from three old editions, and the only manuscript known, in the Harleian MS. 2252, leaf 147. Here are the opening lines from that manuscript:—

Harl. MS. 2252, fol. 147.

quis resurgat Ad Malyngna*n*tes? aut quis stabit mecu*m* adu*er*sus
ope*r*antes iniquitate*m*? nemo, do*m*ine!

Whate Can hyt Avayle
To dryve forthe A snayle,
or to make A Sayle
of an heryng tayle?
to Ryme or to Rayle,
to wryte or to endyte,
eythyr for to endyte
or else for to desyte,
or bok*is* to co*m*pyle
of dyve*r*s mane*r* of style,
vyc*is* to revyle,
& syn[1] for to exile,
To teche or to preche
as Reason wolde reherse?
say thus or say that,
hys hede ys so[2] fatte,
& saythe he wott not whate,
nor wherof he spekythe:
he Cryethe, he Crekythe,
he p*r*iethe, he p*r*ekythe,
he Chydethe, he Chate*r*s,
he pratythe, he patyrs,
he Cleteryth, he clate*r*s,
he medelythe, he smaters,
he glosythe, he Flate*r*s;
or yf he speke playne,
Then he lackythe brayne;
he ys but A foole;
lett hym go to scole,
on A iij^{e} fotyde stole
þ*a*t he may downe sytte,
for he lackythe wytte;
& yff þ*a*t he hytte
þ^{e} nayle on the hede,
hyt stondythe[3] in no stede:
The devyll, they sey, ys dede.
hyt may so welle be.
or else they wolde see
hoþ*er*wyse, & flee
From worldly vanyte,
& fowlle Covetosnes,
& hoþ*er* wrechydnes,
And fykylle falsenes,
& varyabulnes
w*i*th vnstedfastnes:
And yf they stonde in dowte
whoo browghte þ*is* Ryme Abowte,
My name ys Colyn Clowte,
And [I] purpose to shake owte
all my Connyng Bagge,
lyke A clarkely hagge;
for thowe my Ryme be Ragge[d]
Tateryde & Iaggyde,
Rvdely Rayne-betyn,
Rusty & mothe-etyn,
And yf thow take well þ*a*t wythe,
hyt hathe in hyt s*u*m pythe;
for, as fer as I Can see,
hyt ys wronge w*i*th eche degre;
for the Temporalte
Accusythe the spyrytualte;
The spiritualti Agayne
dothe groge & complayne
vppon the Temporall men:
Thys,[4] eche w*i*th hothyr blen,
þ^{e} tone ayenste þ*a*t hother.

Laymen say the Prelates are so haughty, they take no heed to feed their sheep, but only to pluck their wool. The Bishops pervert justice, creep within noble walls to fatten their bodies, disdain to preach, and have little wit in their heads; but two or three are good men, though hen-hearted; they daren't reform abuses, are

[1] The final ens and ems have curls over their backs.
[2] MS. fo. [3] MS. stondydythe. [4] thus.

loth to hang the bell round the cat's neck, and have forgotten Becket's example. Other spiritual fathers hunt, hawk, fornicate, sell the grace of the Holy Ghost, eat flesh in Lent; many are 'bestiall and untaught,' drunken, can't construe their lessons, haunt ale-houses, adulterize with women, can hardly read. Mitres are bought and sold, simony prevails; Bishops ride mules with golden trappings and stirrups, all richly clad, and grind poor Gil and Jack.

See what lies the people tell of you! Isn't it sad? They say you Clergy and Monks pillage the people, and pervert the laws; that Abbesses and Prioresses are as bad; and that it's all the fault of the Bishops, who turn monasteries into mills, and abbeys into granges, to get money to spend among wanton lasses and live in luxury. Except you mend, you'll have a fall; sour sauce after sweet meat!

But I must denounce also those laymen who labour to bring the Church to the ground. Some argue against the Sacraments, Predestination, Christ's manhood &c.; and, when good ale's in their foretop, rail against priestly dignities. Some have a smack of Luther's heresy, of Wycliffe's, of Huss's; and say the clergy have much; also that they can't keep their wives from them.

Isn't it too bad that the laymen talk of how Prelacy is sold and bought; how men of low degree are made prelates, and forget all humility? Yes, you Prelates are so puft up with pride that no man may abide you! you lord it over lords, and those of royal blood; and you boast and brag! If our lords did but understand how Learning would help them, they'd pipe you another dance! But alas, they scorn Learning, do but hunt and hawk[1], care nothing for politics; and therefore have to crouch to you. Well do the commonalty call you prelates 'Idols of Babylon,' proud upstarts from the dung-cart, you who *now* reign and rule, and late lay your drowsy heads in lowsy beds! But mind your foot doesn't slip, and you go to the devil! You are blinded by flatterers! Why don't you rouse yourselves, and be lights to the people?

Now, teaching's only to be got from some poor clerk with but 10£ a year, or some Friar. And it's your work; you should do it! What good can drunken old Doctor Dawpate teach, or a Friar

[1] See my Forewords to the *Babees Book*, and to *Queene Elizabethes Achademy* &c. Also, especially, *Starkey's Dialogue*, Pt. 2, p. 182–6 (E. E. Text Soc. 1871 (Extra Series).

that must preach to get money, and who sets people against their own clergy? You Bishops are so tainted with covetousness and ambition that you lead not your flocks. Laymen call you Barrels of Gluttony and Hypocrisy! All is fish that comes to your net! You build fine palaces, painted with loose heathen tales of lusty Venus and naked Diana, and "naked boyes strydynge, with wanton wenches winkyng." Yet [Wolsey!] beware of a Queen's yelling! It's a busy thing for one man to rule a King! (l. 899–992). Some of you have so checkmated great lords lately, that the rest dare do nothing except it please the "one that ruleth the roste alone" (l. 1021). No one can get at the King except through our President. But mind, man, you don't get cast into the mire! Seek sound footing; give up at once all your wrong schemes! And don't murmur at me, Colyn Clout, for my writing: I write not against the good, but only the bad. Therefore let all, clergy or lay, who feel my reproof, amend. Don't be high and mighty, and order me off to the Fleet or the Tower! Don't say, 'See how the villain calls us Clergy shameless and merciless, incorrigible and insaciate, full of partiality, turning right into wrong!' Drop your threats of sawing, hanging, slaying, beating, those who go against your will, you who will not

> . . suffre this boke
> By hoke ne by croke
> Prynted for to be[1],
> For that no man shulde se
> Nor rede in any scrolles
> Of theyr dronken nolles,
> Nor of theyr noddy polles,
> Nor of theyr sely soules,
> Nor of some wytles pates
> Of dyuers great estates,
> As well as other men.
> (l. 1239–1249, *Works*, vol. i. p. 359.)

May our Saviour Jesus send us grace to set right the things that are amiss, when His pleasure is!

Southey has well said of Skelton: "The power, the strangeness, the volubility of his language, the audacity of his satire, and the perfect originality of his manner, made Skelton one of the most extraordinary writers of any age or country." His *Colyn Cloute* gave rise, in 1533 or 1534, to even a fiercer diatribe against the whole crew of Clergy, Monks, and Friars, *The Image of Ypocresye*, edited from the unique copy in the Lansdowne MS 794 by Mr. Dyce in his *Skelton's Poetical Works* ii. 413, and by me, with an Introduction, in my *Ballads from Manuscripts*, Vol. i. p. 167–274 (Ballad Society 1868).

[1] Some of the allusions in the Poem may have been introduced into it after it was first written.

Of old printed editions of *Colyn Cloute*, Mr. Dyce and Mr. Hazlitt between them note the following:—

q. 1. "Here after foloweth a lytell boke called collyn clout, compyled by mayster Skelton, poete Laureate.
Quis consurgat mihi adversum malignantes &c. Cum privilegio regali.
[Colophon] Imprynted at London by Thomas Godfrey. Cum privilegio regali," 8vo. black letter. D in eights, the first and last leaves blank; at Woburn Abbey, the only copy known.

2. Colophon: "Imprinted at London by me Rycharde Kele dwellyng in the powltry at the long shop under saynt Myldredes chyrche," 12mo. no date. 30 leaves. Henry Huth Esq. has a copy.

"An edition by Kele, 4to. n. d. is mentioned in *Typogr. Antiq.* iv. 305, ed. Dibdin: but qy.?" says Mr. Dyce.

3. Colophon: "Imprinted at London in Paules Churche yarde at the Sygne of the Rose by John Wyghte," 12mo, no date, b. l., D 6 in eight, or 30 leaves; in the British Museum.

4. Col. "Imprynted at London by Jhon Wallye dwelling in Fosterlane," [? about 1550]. 8vo. b. l. 30 leaves. A copy without the title-page was sold among Mr. Jolley's books in 1844.

5. *a.* Col. "Imprynted at London in Paules Churche Yard at the Sygne of the Sunne by Anthony Kytson." 32 leaves; in the British Museum.

b. Colophon in some copies:—"Imprynted at London in Paules Churche yarde at the Sygne of the Lambe by Abraham Veale." 12mo. n. d. 32 leaves, the first and last blank; in the British Museum.

6. In "Pithy, pleasaunt, and profitable workes of maister Skelton, Poete Laureate. Nowe collected and newly published. Anno 1568. Imprinted at London in Fletestreate, neare vnto saint Dunstones churche by Thomas Marshe" 12mo., the 15th piece is "Colyn Clout."

XXXI. *The Fryar and the Boy.* This merry and most popular poem has been printed at least 3 times in modern days from Manuscripts: 1 by Mr. Thomas Wright in his series of Early English Poems, 1836, from a MS at Cambridge; 2. by Mr. J. O. Halliwell for the Warton Club 1855, in "Early English Miscellanies in Prose and Verse from the Porkington MS.", p. 46–62, in 426 lines; 3. by Mr. Hales and myself in '*Bp. Percy's Folio MS: Loose and Humourous Songs*,' p. 9–28; which is the completest copy, though imperfect, in 507 lines.

Of old printed editions we have 1. Wynkyn de Worde's, not

dated, in 4to, black letter, 7 leaves: "Here begynneth a mery Geste of the Frere and the Boye." This was reprinted by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Early Popular Poetry*, ii. 54–81, with collations from the next edition, and contains 480 lines, in 6-line stanzas up to l. 456, and in 4-line stanzas to the end. 2. Edward Allde's in 4to, about 1585, says Mr. Hazlitt: if so, after Captain Cox's time; but the two following editions, of which no copies have yet been catalogued, are licensed in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 22; *Collier*, p. 1:—

[1557–8] To mr. John Wally these bokes, called Welthe and helthe / the treatise of the ffrere and the boye / stans puer ad mensom[1]; a nother, youghte, charyte, and humylyte[2]; an a b c for cheldren, in englesshe, with syllabes; also a boke called an hundredth mery tayles[3] . . . ijs.

[1568–9] *Received* of Jonn Alde for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled the Freer and the boye . . . iiijd.

Later, a second Part was added to the story, and it became a common chap-book. The reader should consult Mr. T. Wright's preface to his edition of 1836, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's to his of 1866.

The story of the poem is one of a boy, little Jack, whom his stepmother spites. She gets his father to make him tend the cattle, and gives him such bad food that he can't eat it. The boy gives the food to an old hungry man, and he in return grants the boy three wishes: 1. a Bow that'll always hit the mark; 2. a Pipe that'll make every one who hears it, dance; 3. that his Stepmother, whenever she looks spitefully at him, shall 'a rap let go.' At nightfall the cattle follow Little Jack's pipe; and he goes home, asks his father for some supper, and gets a capon's wing, at which his stepmother scowls. She 'lets go a blast' that makes the people laugh, and another when she scowls again; so that she has to look good-tempered; but she asks a Friar whom she loves, to revenge her. Next day the Friar goes to beat the boy; but Little Jack shoots a bird for him, and when he goes into the briars to fetch it, Jack pipes up, and makes the Friar dance till he's scratcht so that he bleeds fast. Then he vows he'll not touch Jack if he'll stop the pipe; and the boy lets him go tattered and bleeding home. At night the Stepmother complains to Jack's father, and he insists on hearing the Pipe. The Friar is bound to a post to stop his being obliged to dance; but when Jack

[1] See No. XXXVIII below.
[2] See No. XLVIII below.
[3] See No. XLIII below.

begins, the Friar knocks his pate against the post, and Father, Stepmother, and every one near, dance through the streets, some rushing naked out of their beds to join in. When Jack's tired, he stops; and here the original story ended, I believe, as the Porkington MS. does, with a moral; but the Percy and De Worde copies give us a second scene, of the Friar summoning Jack before the Official or Archdeacon, for witchcraft. The Stepmother joins in; but 'her tail blows,' and she has to stand mute. Then the Official orders Jack to play up; which he does, and a mad scene follows,—judge, proctors, summoners, prisoners, etc., all dancing and smashing against one another.—At last, the Official promises to forgive Jack if he'll stop his Pipe, and he does so.

XXXII. *Elynor Rumming.* This is a most life-like picture by Skelton of a Surrey ale-wife of the time of Henry VIII, and of a drinking-bout by country women at her inn. The coarse loose life of the time is painted with the faithfulness of a Dutch painter, and with a most powerful and humourous hand. The scene is laid by Skelton on a hill in Surrey, in a certain stead beside Leatherhead; but tradition has it, that 'Elynour on the hyll' dwelt at the foot of glorious chalk Boxhill, on the road from Leatherhead to Dorking—that hill which we Sunday walkers from the Working Men's College used to know so well, in storm of snow, fresh green of spring, parch of summer, and golden stretch of autumn at its foot, with the after tongues of flame-red leaves shooting up its dark-green Burford sides.—The place is alive with beauties of nature, and memories of distinguished men and happy days. But it's a coarse picture that Skelton sets before us, repulsive to any one who doesn't care to know how people really lived in 'the good old times' when Mr. Froude tells us working men were, in the main, so much better off than they are now.

Elynour herself is scurvy and lowsy, slaver running from her lips, and dropping from her nose; blear-eyed, jawed like a jetty, footed like a plane, and legged like a crane. Her customers are no better: Kate, Cysly, and Sare, with their legs bare, their feet full unsweet, their kirtles all jagged, their smocks all ragged;

Some wenches come vnlassd,
Some huswyues come vnbrased,
Wyth theyr naked pappes,
That flyppes and flappes,
That wygges and that wagges
Lyke tawny saffron bagges;
A sorte of foule drabbes
All scurvy with scabbes.

The hogs come and dirt in the house, the hens in the mash tub, which Elynour skims with her mangy fists—or doesn't.—Some women pay coin for their ale; some a coney, or honey, a salt-cellar, spoon, hose, a pot, meal, a wedding ring, a husband's hood or cap, flax or tow, distaff or spinning wheel, thread, yarn, piece of bacon, &c.: all *must* have ale. Then they gossip and drink, let it out as they sit, etc. Then another and another lot of women come, who pledge all kinds of things for ale; then drink, and tumble about. Among them, a pretended witch, and stubby-legd Margery Mylkeducke, are described, and a prickmedainty quiet dame (? a nun) who pledges her beads for her ale . . .

. . . my fyngers ytche;
I haue written to mytche
Of this mad mummynge
Of Elynour Rummynge.

Thus endeth the gest
Of this worthy fest,
Quod Skelton, Laureat.

No separate old printed edition of this poem is known. It occurs in a collection of some of Skelton's works:

1. "Here after foloweth certaine bokes co*m*pyled by mayster Skelto*n*, Poet Laureat, whose names here after shall appere.
Speake Parot.
The death of the noble Prynce Kynge Edwarde the fourth.
A treatyse of the Scottes.
Ware the Hawke.
The Tunnynge of Elynoure Rummyng."
[And 5 Minor Poems.]
Colophon. "Thus endeth these lytle workes compyled by maister Skelton, Poet Laureat. Imprynted at London, in Crede Lane, by John Kynge and Thomas Marche." 12mo, no date.
2. "Imprynted at London by Jhon Day." 12mo, no date.
3. "Printed at London by Richard Lant, for Henry Tab, dwelling in Pauls church-yard, at the sygne of Judith." 12mo, no date.
4. Mr. Dyce says 'An edition printed for W. Bonham, 1547, 12mo, is mentioned by Warton, *Hist. of E. Poetry*, ii. 336 (note) ed. 4to.

XXXIII. *The Nutbrooun Maid.* 'One of the most exquisite pieces of late Mediæval poetry,' rightly says Mr. Hales in the *Percy Folio MS. Ballads and Romances*, iii. 174, where a poor shortened copy of the poem is printed in the text, and a full copy, from Richard Hill's MS. at Balliol, in the notes.

In answer to the reproach that women's love is utterly decayd, the Nutbrown Maid records "that they love true, and doe con-

tinue." Her Lover—a squire of low degree—comes to her, a Baron's daughter, and tells her that he is a banisht man; he must either die, or take to an outlaw's life in the greenwood, alone. She says 'I love but you alone.' He tells her that she'll soon get over it, and forget him; but she declares she is ready to go with him, she loves but him alone. Then he tries to dissuade her: if she goes, people will say it's to fulfill her wanton will; she'll have to bear a bow, and live as a thief; if he's hung, there'll be no one to help her; if not, she must endure thorns, snow, rain, and heat, lodge on the bare ground, get no dinner, ale, or wine, have no sheets but leaves and boughs; must cut her hair to her ears, and her kirtle to her knees, and fight for him, if need be. But always she says 'I love but you alone.' Then her Lover tries another tack: women are soon hot, soon cold; soon she'll change too. Then what a cursed deed it were for a baron's child to be fellow with an outlaw. But still she says she'll risk all for him: 'I love but you alone.' Comes the hardest trial: the Lover says he has another fairer maid than she, whom he loves better. But still comes the sweet iteration, 'I love but you alone;' for his sake she'll wait on paramours, one or a hundred. The proof is over; the Lover clasps his own dear love; he is no banisht man, but the Earl of Westmoreland's son, and will wed her as soon as he can.

> Here may ye see, that women be
> in love, meke, kynd, & stable.
> Lett never men repreve them then,
> yf they be charytable,
> But rather pray God that we may
> to them be comfortable. . .

The reader should turn to the poem itself again; no doubt he knows it well. It runs with the Squire of Low Degree, p. xxiv. above. The first printed edition of it is in Arnold's Chronicle (at sig. N 6,) 'which is supposed to have appeared at Antwerp, from the press of John Doesborcke, about 1502.' The 2nd edition of Arnold was in 1521; to the 3rd edition no date has been assigned. From the first two editions Mr. Thomas Wright printed the Nutbrown Maid in his set of Early English poems in 1836, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reprinted this text in his *Early Popular Poetry* ii. 271–94. Mr. T. Wright says "I am told that in a manuscript of University College, Oxford, there is a list of books on sale at a stall in that city in 1520, among which is the 'Not-broon Mayd,' price one penny." I wrote to the Librarian of University to ask

if this list existed, and his substitute said he believed not. On leaf 31 of the Stationers' Register A (*Collier* i. 16) we find an entry

John Kynge ys fyned for that he ded prynt the nutbrowne mayde *with*out lycense . . . . . ijs. vjd.

We have now finisht Captain Cox's "matters of storie"—thirty-three of the famous books of Elizabeth's early time,—and turn to the "philosophy both morall and naturall: beside poetrie, and astronomie, and oother hid sciences."

II. Captain Cox's Books of Philosophy and Poetry.

XXXIV. *The Shepherdz Kalender.* Translated from *Le compost et Kalendrier des Bergers;* and of this handbook of Popular Philosophy, including 'astronomy, ethics, politics, divinity, physiognomy, medicine, astrology, and geography,' many editions before Captain Cox's time have come down to us.

1. The Kalendayr of The Shyppars. [Colophon] Heyr endyth the kalendar of shyppars, translatyt of franch *in* englysh, to the lowyng of almyghty god, & of his gloryous mother mary, and of the holy cowrt of hywyn: prentyt *in* parys the .xxiii. day of iuyng, oon thowsand .cccc & III. Folio, A to M, in eights. With woodcuts. A unique copy at Althorp, imperfect.

2. Printed by Julian Notary, about 1502, in folio, with woodcuts, many of which Dibdin has copied in his edition of Herbert.

3 A copy without printer's name or date, in the Bodleian; but probably from Pynson's press. See *Dibdin's Ames*, ii. 526.

4. Robert Copland's translation, printed by Pynson in 1506[1], folio, with woodcuts. An imperfect copy is at Althorp.

5. Robert Copland's new translation printed by himself, under Wynkyn de Worde's name, Dec. 8, 1508. No. 6 in Dibdin's list.

6. Wynkyn de Worde. 24 Jan., 1528. No. 8 in Dibdin's list.

7. The Kalender 'newely augmented and corrected.' Imprynted by Wyllyam Powell A.D. 1556.

8. An edition of 1559, newly augmented and corrected, is noted

[1] So says Mr. Hazlitt, from whom I take this and like lists; but the Brit. Mus. Catalogue, under *Ephemerides*, Compost, 8561 f, has 1505 ?. The book has no printer's name, and uses woodcuts used by Robert and William Coplande, K iiii back; and another, B iiii back, used or copied in the Roxburghe Ballads. Ballad Soc. Reprint, ii. 370. On first seeing it, I said this copy couldn't be Pynson's; and on looking at it a little, fixed on William Coplande as its probable printer. Mr. Russell Martineau afterwards examined it thoroughly for the Museum, and found that the first date in the Calendar was 1560 (sign C v) so that that is the probable date of the book. See note below, p. lxxxiii.

in *Ames* ii. 735 from the Catalogue of Benet (Corpus) Coll. Library, Cambridge, p. 208 etc.

9. An undated edition by John Waley 'newly augmented and corrected,' is among Malone's books in the Bodleian. Folio, 102 leaves, or A to N in eights, except that M has only 6 leaves. Waley printed from 1546 to 1575.

10. An edition by T. East, no date, folio.

The book is a very curious and interesting mixture of all kinds of learning of the time, with many quaint cuts[1], and certainly deserves reproducing. To show its range of subjects, I copy its Table of Contents from the 1604 edition 'printed at London by G. Elde for Thomas Adams, dwelling in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the white Lion. 1604,' which is evidently a page for page reprint, with changed spelling, of the edition of 1540–60 I say,—but 1505 ?, by Pynson ?, says the Brit. Mus. catalogue—of which an imperfect copy beginning on B ii. is in the British Museum (8561 f.).

"This is the table of this present booke, of the Shepheards Kalender, drawne out of French into English, with many more goodly editions than be chaptered, newly put thereto.

FIrst the Prologue of the Authour, that saith that euery man may liue lxxiiii. yeares at the least, and they that die before that terme, it is by euill gouer[n]ment, and by violence, or outrage of themselfe in their youth. Cap. primo.

The second Prologue of the great maister Shepheard, that proueth true, by good argument, all that the first shepheard saith. cap. ii.

Also a Kalender with the figures of euery Saint that is hallowed in the yeare, in the which is the figures, the houres, and the moments, and the new Moones. cap. iii.

The table of the mouable feasts, with the compound manuell. cap. iiii.

The table to knowe and vnderstand euery day what signe the Moone is in. cap. v.

Also in the figure of the eclipse of the Sunne and the Moone, the daies, houres, and moments. cap. vi.

The trees and branches of vertues and vices. [See Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, and Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*.] cap. vii.

The paines of hell, and how that they be ordayned for euery deadly sinne, which is shewed by figures. cap. viii.

[1] Mostly copied from the French. The planets, Moon etc. are each shown at the fork of the legs of a naked man or woman walking.

The garden and fielde of all vertues, that sheweth a man how he should know whether he be in the state of the grace of God or not. cap. ix.

A noble declaration of the seuen principall petitions of the Pater noster, and also the Aue Maria: of the three salutations, of which the Angel Gabriell made the first, the second was made by saint Elisabeth, and the third maketh our mother holy Church. cap. x.

Also the Credo in English of the xii. articles of our faith. cap. xi.

Also the ten commaundementes in English[1]; and the five commaundementes of the Church Catholike. [Not given; but they are "in the booke of Jesus," leaf F viii. not signed.] cap. xii.

Also a figure of a man in a shippe, that sheweth the vnstablenesse of this transitory worlde. cap. xiii.

Also to teach a man to know the fielde of vertues. cap. xiiii.

Also a Shepheardes ballad, that sheweth his frailty. cap. xv.

Also a ballad of a woman shepheard, that profiteth greatly. cap. xvi.

Also a ballad of death, that biddeth a man beware betime. cap. xvii.

Also the ten commaundements of the deuill, and the reward that they shal haue that keepe them[2]. cap. xviii.

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[1] One God onely thou shalte loue & worshyp perfytely.
God in vayne thou shalte not swere, nor by y^e^ he made truely.
The sondayes thou shalt kepe, in seruinge God deuoutlye.
Father & mother thou shalt honour, end shalt lyue longely.
Mansleer thou shalt not be, in dede, ne wyllyngely.
Lecherous thou shalt not be of thy body, ne consentyngely.
No mans goods thou shalt not stele, nor witholde falsely.
False wytnesse thou shalte not bere, in any wyse lyingely.
The worke of the fleshe desyre not, but in maryage onely.
The goodes of other, couet not to haue them vniustly.
? Coplande's (called Pynson's) ed. leaf F 7 back, not signed.

[2] Here after foloweth the .x. commandements of the deuill. (sign. G 6 back. ed Coplande ?)

WHo so will do my commaundements,
And kepe them well and sure,
Shall haue in hell great torments
That euermore shall endure.

[1] Thou shalt not feare God, nor thinke of his goodnes.
[2] To dampne thy soule, blaspheme God and his saintes,
Euermore thine owne will be fast doing;
Deceaue men and women, and euer be swearing;
[3] Be dronken hardely vpon the holy day,
And cause other to sinne, if thou may.
[4] Father nor mother, loke thou loue nor drede,
Nor helpe them neuer, though they haue nede.
[5] Hate thy neighbour, and hurt him by enuy;
Murder, and shed man's blood hardely;
Forgeue no man, but be all vengeable.

Another ballad that sainct John sheweth in the Apocalips, of the black horse that death rideth vpon. cap. xix.

[*Sign.* A 3.] A ballad how princes and states should gouerne them. [? Lydgate's 'estate and order of euery degree'.] cap. xx.

The trees and branches of vertues, and vices, with the seauen vertues against the seauen deadly sinnes. cap. xxi.

Also a figure that sheweth howe the xii. signes raigne in mans body; and which be good, and which be bad. cap. xxii.

A picture of the phisnomy of mans body, and sheweth in what parts the seauen planets hath domination in man. cap. xxiii.

And after the number of the bones in mans body, followeth a picture that sheweth of all the veyns in the body, and how to bee let bloud in them. cap. xxiiii.

To knowe whether a man be likely to be sicke or no, and to heale them that be sicke. cap. xxv.

And also heere sheweth of the replexion of euill humors, and also for to clense them. cap. xxvi.

Also, how men should gouerne them the iiii. quarters of the yeare. ca. xxvii.

Also, how men should do, when phisicke doth faile them, for health of body and soule: made in a ballad royal. ["The Diatorie" in the *Babees Book*, 1858, Pt. 1, p. 54–8, enlarged.] cap. xxviii.

Also, to shew men what is good for the braine, the eyes, the throate, the breast, the heart and stomacke, properly declared. cap. xxix.

Also the contrary, to shew what is euill for the braine, the eyes, the throat, the breast, the heart, and the stomack, following by and by. cap. xxx.

Also of the foure elements, and the similitude of the earth; and how euery planet is one aboue another, and which be masculine & feminine. cap. xxxi.

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[7] Be lecherous in dede, and in touching delectable;
Breake thy wedlocke, and spare not; [leaf G 7, not signed.]
And to deceaue other by falsehode, care not.
[8] The goodes of other thou shalt holde falsly,
And yelde it no more though they speake curtesly.
[9] Company often with women, and tempte them to sinne;
[10] Desire thy neighbours wife, and his goodes to be thine.
Do thus hardely, and care not therfore,
And thou shalt dwell with me in hell euermore;
Thou shalt lye in frost and fyre, with sicknes and hunger;
And in a thousand peeces thou shalt be torne a sunder;
yet thou shalt dye, and neuer be deade;
Thy meate shalbe todes, and thy drinke boyling leade.
Take no thought for the blud that God for thee shed,
And to my kingdome thou shalt be straight led.

Here foloweth the rewarde of them that kepeth these commaundementes aforesayde. [17 lines of verse. But no doubt the reader has had enough of it.]

I must take a few of the Proverbs, from the end of the imperfect copy of Jhon Wally's edition, 1580 (?) in the Museum.

¶ And also an other, forget it nat:
Kepe your owne home as doth a mouse;
For I tell you, the deuil is a wyly cat;
He will spye you in another mans house.

¶ And in espetiall, God to please,
Desyre thou neuer none other mans thinge:
Remember that many fingers is well at ease,
That neuer ware on, no gay golde ringe.

¶ And this I tell you for good and all,
Remember it, you that be wyse:
That man or woman hath a great fall,
The which slyde downe, and do neuer ryse.

And one also forget not behynde,
That man or woman is likely, good to be,
That banisheth malyce out of their mynde,
And slepeth euery night in charitie.

I rede you worke by good councell,
For that man is worthy to haue care
That hath twise fal[1] into a well,
And yet the thirde tyme cannot beware.

Say that a fryer tolde you this:
[H]e is wyse that doth forsake sinne:
[T]hen may we come to heauen blysse.
[G]od giue vs grace, that place to winne.

FINIS

The following extract shows how Man is a microcosm, and includes in himself all animals:

And they say that God ne formed creature for to inhabite the world, wyser then man; for there is no conditione maner in a beaste, but that it is founde comprehended in man. Naturally, a man is hardy as the Lyon, true and worthy as the oxe, large and liberall as the Cock, auaricious as the Dog, and aspre as the Hart, debonayre and true as the Turtle, malicyous as the Leoparde, preuy and tame as the Doue, dolerous and guilefull as the Foxe, simple and debonayre as the lambe, shrewde as the ape, light as the horse, soft and piteable as [the] Beare, dere and precious as the Oliphant, good & holesome as the Unicorne, vyle & slouthfull as the Asse, fayre and proude as the Pecocke, glotonous as the Wolfe, enuyous as the Bitch, debel & inobedient as the Nightingale, humble as the Pygeon, fel and folish as the Oystrich, profytable as the Pysmare, dyssolute and vagabund as the Gote, spytefull as the Fesaunt. Soft and meeke as the Chekin. Mouable and varying as the Fish. Lecherous as the Bore. Stronge

[1] falne, ed. 1604.

and puissant as the Camell. Traytor as the Mule. Aduised as the Mouse. Reasonable as an aungell. And therefore he is called the little world, for he participeth of all, or he is called all creatures; for, as it is sayd, he participeth and hath condicion of all creatures.—*From* Cap. xlii. The iudgementes of mans body. Back of L vij not signed.

XXXV. *The Ship of Foolz*. Of this work there are two old versions, one in prose and another in verse. The prose version was translated by H. Watson, and printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1517; and of this a copy is among Douce's books in the Bodleian.

From Herbert, in *Ames* i. 158, we find that Watson says: "this booke hathe ben made in Almayne language / and out of Almayne it was translated in to Latyn / by mayster Jacques Locher / and out of Latyn in to rethoryke Frensshe. I haue consydered that the one delyteth hym in latyn / the other in Frensshe / some in ryme / and the other in prose / for the whiche cause I haue done this" in prose.—"Consyderynge also that the prose is more familiar vnto euery man than *the* ryme, I, Henry Watson, haue reduced this present boke in to our maternall tongue of Englysshe out of Frensshe / at y^e^ request of my worshypfull mayster wynken de worde / through the entysement and exhortacyon of the excellent prynces Margarette / co*un*tesse of Rychemonde and Derby / and grandame vnto our moost naturall souerayne lorde kynge Henry y^e^ VIII. whome Jhesu preserue from all encombrau*n*ce.—¶ By the shyppe we may vnderstande *the* folyes and erroures that the mo*n*doynes are in / by the se this presente worlde /—Syth that it is so / we must serche this booke, the whiche may wel be called 'the doctrynall of fooles.'" Imprynted—M. CCCCC. & xvii. The nynthe yere of the reygne of our souerayne kynge Henry *the* viii. The xx. daye of June.

The poetical version of *The Ship of Fools* is the chief work of Alexander Barklay, who was probably a Scotchman, was "educated at Oriel College, Oxford, accomplished his academical studies by travelling, and was appointed one of the priests or prebendaries of the college of saint Mary Ottery in Devonshire. Afterwards he became a Benedictine monk of Ely monastery; and at length took the habit of the Franciscans at Canterbury." (*Warton*, ii. 419, ed. 1840). He finished "The Shyp of Folys, translated in the colege of saynt Mary Otery, in the counte of Devonshyre,

oute of Laten, Frenche, and Dotch, into Englishe tonge, by Alexander Barclay, preste and chaplen in the sayd colledge, M. CCCCC. VIII." John Cawood printed a second edition of the book in 1570. "About the year 1494," says Warton, i. 420 Sebastian Brandt, a learned civilian of Basil, and an eminent philologist, published a satire in German with this title [*Navis Stultifera Mortalium*]. The design was, to ridicule the reigning vices and follies of every rank and profession, under the allegory of a Ship freighted with Fools of all kinds, but without any variety of incident or artificiality of fable; yet although the poem is destitute of plot, and the voyage, of adventures, a composition of such a nature became extremely popular. It was translated into French; and, in the year 1488, into tolerable Latin verse by James Locher, a German, and a scholar of the inventor Brandt. From the original, and the two translations, Barklay formed a large English poem, in the balade or octave stanza, with considerable additions gleaned from the follies of his countrymen. It was printed in 1509 by Pynson[1], whose name occurs in the poem:

> How be it the charge Pynson has on me layde,
> With many fooles our nauy not to charge.
> (leaf 38 back, Cawood's ed. 1570.)

Barclay's paraphrase is not at all so bright or biting as one would have hoped it would be; nor do his special envoys or addresses to each class of Fools at the end of his enlargements of the Latin text, give one a good sketch of the vices and ways of his time: still, one is thankful to have them; and as each of us is bound to think first, wherein he is a fool himself, suppose we get Mr. G. Parker of the Bodleian to give us Brandt's and Barclay's sketches of us Fools who 'books assemble,'—though we do read some—adding Watson's translation too, to show how he treats his original. For more, the reader can turn to the volume itself: he'll enjoy its quaint cuts, if he doesn't the text.

[P. 1. 16. Jur. Seld. (Bodl. Libr.).]

THE SHYP OF FOLYS.

translated *in* the College

of saynt mary Otery in the counte of Deuonshyre: out of Laten / Frenche / and Doche into Englysshe tonge by Alexander Barclay

[1] The Granville copy in the Brit. Mus. is in beautiful condition, though cut down grievously by one of that cursed race of binders.

Preste: and at that tyme Chaplen in the sayde College. tra*n*slated ... 1508. Inprentyd in the Cyte of London in Fletestre (*sic*) at the signe of Saynt George By Rycharde Pynson to hys Coste and charge: Ended ... 1509. The 13 day of December.

[The title-page is covered with one large Coat of Arms and a Crest above it: at the back of this, towards the bottom of the page, is the title copied above.]

[fol. 12.] Argumentum in narragoniam.

AD humani generis fœlicitatem: documentumque saluberrimum: stultorum classis ad Narragoniam constructa fulget: quam quidem omnes conscendunt: qui de se mita / veritatis / et aperto sani intellectus calle vagantes: in varias et vmbrosas mentis tenebras: ac corporis illecebras corruunt. Potuisset presens hic noster libellus / non inconcinne satyra nuncupari: sed auctorem nouitas tituli delectauit. sicuti enim prisci satyrici: variis poematibus contextis: [etc.].

Satyra.

HEre after foloweth the Boke named the Shyp of Foles of the worlde: translated out of Laten / Frenche & Doche into Englysse in the Colege of saynt Mary Ot*e*ry By me Alex*a*nder Barclay to the felicite and moste holsom instruccion of ma*n*kynde the whiche conteyneth al suche as wandre from the way of trouth and from the open Path of holsom vnderstondynge & *wysdom: fallynge into dyuers blyndnesses of *the* mynde / folysshe sensualytees / and vnlawful delectacions of the body. This present Boke myght haue ben callyd nat inconuenyently the Satyr (that is to say) the reprehencion of foulysshnes. but the neweltye of the name was more plesant vnto the fyrst actour to call it the Shyp of foles: For in lyke wyse as olde Poetes Satyriens in dyuers Poesyes co*n*ioyned repreued the synnes and ylnes of the peple at that tyme lyuynge: so and in lyke wyse this our Boke representeth vnto the iyen of the redars the states and co*n*dicions of men: so that euery man may behold within the same the cours of his lyfe and his mysgouerned maners / as he sholde beholde the shadowe of the fygure of his visage within a bright Myrrour. But concernynge the translacion of this Boke: I exhort *the* reders to take no displesour for *that* it is nat tra*n*slated word by worde acordi*n*ge to *the* ve*r*ses of my actour. For I haue but only drawen into our moder tunge / in rude langage, the sentences of the verses as nere as the parcyte of my wyt wyl suffer me / some tyme addynge / somtyme detractinge and takinge away suche thinges a[s] semethe me necessary and superflue. wherfore I desyre of you reders, pardon of my presumptuous audacite, trustynge that ye shall holde me excused if ye co*n*syder *the* scarsnes of my wyt and my vnexpert youthe. I haue n many places ouerpassed dyuers poetical digressions and obscurenes of Fables, and haue co*n*cluded my worke in rude langage[1], as shal apere in my tra*n*slacio*n*. But the speciyl cawse that mouethe me to this besynes is, to auoyde the execrable inconuenyences of ydilnes,

[*fol. 12*b*.]

Satyra interpretatur reprehentio.

Speculum stultorum.

[1] What follows on fol. 12 *b* is not translated or paraphrased.

whyche (as saint Bernard sayth) is moder of al vices: and to the vtter derision of obstynat men delitynge them in folyes & mysgouernance. But bycause the name of this boke semeth to the redar to procede of derysion: and by that mean that the substance therof shulde nat be profitable: I wyl aduertise you that this Boke is named the Shyp of foles of the worlde: For this worlde is nought els but a tempestuous se, in the whiche we dayly wander and are caste in dyuers tribulacions, paynes, and aduersitees: some by ignoraunce, and some by wilfulnes: wherfore suche doers ar worthy to be called foles, syns they gyde them nat by reason as creatures resonable ought to do. Therfore the fyrst actoure, willynge to deuyde suche foles from wysemen and gode lyuers, hathe ordeyned vpon the se of this worlde this present Shyp to conteyne these folys of *the* worlde / whiche ar in great nomber. So that who redeth it, perfytely consyderynge his secrete dedys / he shall not lyghtly excuse hym selfe out of it / what so euer good name *that* he hath outwarde in the mouth of the comontye / And to the entent / *that* this my laboure may be the more pleasaunt vnto lettred men / I haue adioyned vnto the same *the verses* of my Actour, with dyuerse concordaunces of the Bybyll to fortyfy my wrytynge by the same / & also to stop the enuyous mouthes (If any suche shal be) of them that by malyce shall barke ayenst this my besynes.

[fol. 13.]

De inutilibus libris.

Inter precipuos pars est mihi reddita stultos
Prima: rego docili vastaque vela manu.
En ego possideo multos: quos raro libellos
Perlego: tum lectos negligo: nec sapio.

Invtilitas librorum.

Quod si quis percurrere omnes scriptores cupiat opprimetur: tum librorum multitudine: tum diuersa scribentium varietate: vt haud facile verum possit elicere. distrahit enim librorum multitudo. et faciendi libros plures non est finis.

Diodorus Siculus. li. i. Ecclesi. xij. Dabitur liber nescientibus litteras.

PRimus in excelsa teneo quod naue rudentes
Stultiuagosque sequor comites per flumina vasta:
Non ratione vacat certa: sensuque latenti:
Congestis etenim stultus confido libellis
Spem quoque nec paruam collecta volumina præbent:
Calleo nec verbum: nec libri sentio mentem.
Attamen in magno per me seruantur honore:
Pulueris et cariem plumatis tergo flabellis.
Ast vbi doctrine certamen voluitur: inquam
Aedibus in nostris librorum culta supellex
Eminet: et chartis viuo contentus opertis:

Ptolomeus philadelphus Cuius meminit. Josephus lib. xij.

Quas video ignorans: iuuat et me copia sola.
Constituit quondam diues Ptolomeus: haberet
Vt libros toto quesitos vndique mundo
Quos grandes rerum thesauros esse putabat:

[fol. 13*b*.]

Non tamen archane legis documenta tenebat:
Quis sine non poterat vite disponere cursum

Qui parum studet parum

En pariter teneo numerosa volumina / tardus
Pauca lego: viridi contentus tegmine libri.

proficit glo. in l. vnicuique C. de. prox. sacr. scri. (*sic*).

Cur vellem studio sensus turbare frequenti?
Aut tam sollicitis animum confundere rebus
Qui studet / assiduo motu / fit stultus et amens.
Seu studiam: seu non: dominus tamen esse vocabor
Et possum studio socium disponere nostro:
Qui pro me sapiat: doctasque examinet artes.
At si cum doctis versor: concedere malo
Omnia: ne cogar fors verba latina profari
Theutonicos inter balbos sum maximus auctor:
Cum quibus incassum sparguntur verba latina.

Prouerbio. v. ff. de Corigi. iur. l. ii. post originem Persius. (*sic*.)

O vos doctores: qui grandia nomina fertis:
Respicite antiquos patres: iurisque peritos.
Non in candidulis pensepant dogmata libris:
Arte sed ingenua sitibundum pectus alebant.
Auriculis asini tegitur sed magna caterua:

¶ Here begynneth the foles: and first, inprofytable bokes.

I Am the firste fole of all the hole nauy
To kepe the pompe / the helme and eke the sayle
For this is my mynde / this one pleasoure haue I
Of bokes to haue grete plenty and aparayle
I take no wysdome by them: nor yet auayle
Nor them perceyue nat: And then I them despyse
Thus am I a foole and all that sewe that guyse.

Diodorus Siculus li. i. Ecclesi. xij.

THat in[1] this shyp the chefe place I gouerne
By this wyde see with folys wanderynge
The cause is playne / and easy to dyscerne
Styll am I besy bok*es* assemblynge
For to haue plenty it is a plesaunt thynge

Dabitur liberne scientibus literas esaie. xxix.

In my conceyt and to haue them ay in honde
But what they mene do I nat vnderstonde

But yet I haue them in great reuerence
And honoure sauynge them from fylth and ordure
By often brusshynge / and moche dylygence
Full goodly bounde in pleasaunt couerture
Of domas / satyn / or els of veluet pure
I kepe them sure ferynge lyst they sholde be lost
For in them is the connynge wherin I me bost

[fol. XIIII[2], right.]

But if it fortune that any lernyd men
Within my house fall to disputacion
I drawe the curtyns to shewe my bokes then
That they of my cu*n*nynge sholde make probacion
I kepe nat to fall in altercacion
And whyle they comon my bok*es* I turne and wynde
For all is in them / and no thynge in my mynde

[1] Printed 'u.'

[2] The book is foliated properly, like the Vernon MS, the 2 pages shown on opening the book, being a *folium*, and the two here being headed Folium (on the left page,) XIIII (on the right). Later printers stupidly transferred the

Ptolomeus philadetemus meminit Jo Sephus. li. xij. (*sic.*)

Tholomeus the riche causyd longe agone
Ouer all the worlde good bokes to be sought
Done was his commaundement anone
These bokes he had and in his stody brought
Whiche passyd all erthly treasoure as he thought
But neuertheles he dyd hym nat aply
Unto theyr doctryne / but lyued vnhappely

Qui parum studet parum proficit glo. L. vnicuique C dex sacr. scri. (*sic.*)

Lo in lyke wyse of bokys I haue store
But fewe I rede / and fewer vnderstande
I folowe nat theyr doctryne nor theyr lore
It is ynoughe to bere a boke in hande
It were to moche to be it (*sic*) suche a bande
For to be bounde to loke within the boke
I am content on the fayre couerynge to loke

Why sholde I stody to hurt my wyt therby
Or trouble my mynde with stody excessyue
Sythe many ar whiche stody right besely
And yet therby shall they neuer thryue
The fruyt of wysdom can they nat contryue
And many to stody so moche are inclynde
That vtterly they fall out of theyr mynde

Eche is nat lettred that nowe is made a lorde
Nor eche a clerke that hath a benefyce
They are nat all lawyers that plees doth recorde
All that are promotyd are nat fully wyse
On suche chaunce nowe fortune throwys hir dyce
That thoughe one knowe but the yresshe game
yet wolde he haue a gentyll mannys name

So in lyke wyse I am in suche case
Thoughe I nought can I wolde be callyd wyse
Also I may set another in my place
Whiche may for me my bokes excercyse
Or els I shall ensue the comon gyse
And say concedo to euery argument
Lyst by moche speche my latyn sholde be spent

[fol. XV[1], left.] I am lyke other Clerkes whiche so frowardly them gyde.
That after they ar onys come vnto promocion
They gyue them to plesour theyr stody set asyde.
Theyr Auaryce couerynge with fayned deuocion.
yet dayly they preche: and haue great derysyon
Agaynst the rude Laymen: and al for Couetyse.
Though theyr owne Conscience be blynded with that vyce.

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name *folium* to a leaf, two pages back to back, and sheepish librarians etc. have followed suit, re-leafing already-foliated MSS, under the idea that they were foliating them for the first time. The difference between a leaf and a *folium* has yet to be drilled into the bibliographic mind. [1] Printed XX.

But if I durst trouth playnely vtter and expresse.
This is the special cause of this Inconuenyence.
That greatest foles / and fullest of lewdnes
Hauynge least wyt: and symplest Science
Ar fyrst promoted: and haue greatest reuerence.
For if one can flater / and bere a hawke on his Fyst
He shalbe made Person of Honyngton or of Clyst[1].

But he that is in Stody ay ferme and diligent.
And without al fauour prechyth Chrystys lore
Of al the Comontye nowe adayes is sore shent.
And by Estates thretened to Pryson oft therfore.
Thus what auayle is it / to vs to Stody more:
To knowe outher scripture / trouth / wysedom / or vertue
Syns fewe / or none without fauour dare them shewe.

Prouer. quinto. But O noble Doctours / that worthy ar of name:
Consyder our olde faders: note wel theyr diligence:
Ensue ye theyr steppes: obtayne ye suche fame.
ff. de origine. iur. l. ii. post originem. As they dyd lyuynge: and that by true Prudence.
Within theyr hartys they planted theyr scyence
And nat in plesaunt bokes. But nowe to fewe suche be.
Therfore in this Shyp let them come rowe with me.

¶ The Enuoy of Alexander Barclay Translatour exortynge the Foles accloyed with this vice to amende theyr foly.

SAy worthy doctours and Clerkes curious:
What moueth you of Bokes to haue such nomber.
Syns dyuers doctrines throughe way contrarious.
Doth mannys mynde distract and sore encomber.
Translatio a somniantibus. Alas blynde men awake / out of your slomber
And if ye wyl nedys your bokes multyplye
With diligence endeuer you some to occupye.

Now for Watson's translation.

[Douce B. subt. 254.]

The grete shyppe of fooles of this worlde.

[Title wanting; the Colophon follows.]

¶ Thus endeth the shyppe of fooles of this worlde. Imprynted at Londod (*sic*) in flete strete by Wynkyn de Worde. *the* yere of our lorde. M. CCCCC. *and.* xvii. ¶ The nynthe yere of *the* reygne of our souerayne lorde kynge Henry *the* viii. The. xx. daye of June.

¶ Argument of the shyppe of Fooles of this worlde.

THis booke compyled / for the felycyte *and* salute of all the humayne gendre / and dyrecte the shyppe of fooles of this transytory worlde / in the whiche ascendeth all they that vageth frome the playne exhortacyon of the intellectyf vnderstandynge in transmutable and of obscure

[1] Compare Latimer etc. on this point of unfit persons made parsons.

thoughtes of the frayle body / wher by theyr decyuable wyttes / *and* hye enterpryses / within shorte space inuade our barge. Wherfore this present boke may be called satyre / notwithstandynge that the fyrste auctoure dyde delyte hym in the newe intytulacyon of this present boke / for ryght so as by the poesyes and fyccyons / *the* auncyent poetes dyde correcte *the* vyces *and* the fragylytes of mortall men.

¶ Semblably this present pagyne specyfyeth before theyr syght *the* estate and condycyon of men / to *the* ende *that* a myrroure they beholde the meurs *and* rectytude of lyfe Neuertheles thynke not you lectours *that* I haue worde by worde dyrecte and reduced this present booke out of Frensshe in to our maternall tongue of Englysshe / for I haue onely (as recyteth Flaccus) take entyerely the substaunce of the scrypture / in esperannce that my audace presumptuous sholde be pardonned of the lectoures / hauynge aspecte vnto *the* capacyce of my tendre yeres / and the imbelycyte of my lytell vnderstandynge / in leuynge *the* egressyons poetyques and fabulous obscurytees / in a cheuynge in werke in facyle sentence and famylyer style / in supplyenge all *the* reders to haue me for* excused yf that I haue fayled in ony thynge.

[*Sign. A. i. *b.*]

¶ Here after ensueth the fyrste chapytre.

¶ Of bookes inutyle. capitulo. primo.

¶ The fyrste foole of the shypps[1] I am certayne
That with my handes dresse the sayles all
For to haue bookes I do all my besy payne
Whiche I loue not to rede in specyall
Nor them to se also in generall
Wherfore it is a prouerbe all aboute
Suche thynketh to knowe *that* standeth in doubte.

[A woodcut here.]

[Sign. A. ii.] YOnge folkes that entende for to knowe dyuers thyn*g*es approche you vnto this doctryne *and* it reuolue in your myndes organyques to the ende that ye maye comprehende and vnderstande the substaunce of it / and that ye be not of the nombre of *the* fooles that vageth in this tempesteous flode of the worlde. And you also the whiche haue passed the flourynge aege of your youthe / to *the* end that and you be of the nombre of the fooles moundaynes that ye maye lerne somwhat for to detraye you out of the shyp stultyfere. Wherfore vnderstande what the fyrste foole sayth beynge in the grete shyppe of of[2] fooles. ¶ I am the fyrste in the shyppe vagaunte with the other fooles. I tourne and hyse the cordes of the shyppe saylynge ferre within the see. I am founded full euyll in wytte and in reason. I am a grete foole for to affye me in a grete multytude of bokes. I desyre alway and appetyteth newe inuencyons compyled mystycally / and newe bookes / in the whiche I can not comprehende the substaunce[3] / nor vnderstande no thynge. But I doo my besy cure for to kepe them honestly frome poudre *and* dust. I make my lectrons and my deskes

[1] Printed 'shyppf.' [2] Sic. [3] Printed 'substanuce.'

clene rygh[t] often. My mansyon is all repylnysshed with bokes / I solace me ryght often for to se them open without ony thynge compylynge out of them. ¶ Ptolomeus was a ryche man the whiche constytued (*sic*) and also commaunded that they sholde serche how thorough euery regyon of the worlde the moost excellentest bookes that myght be founden. And whan they had brought theym all / he kepte theym for a greate treasoure. And that not withstandynge he ensued not *the* ensygnementes nor *the* doctryne of the dyuyne sapyence / how be it that he coude dyspose nothynge* of the lyfe without is / what bookes someuer he had / nor compose ony thynge to the relefe of his body at that tyme. I haue redde in dyuers bookes / in the whiche I haue studyed but a lytell whyle / but oftentymes I haue passed the tyme in beholdynge the dyuersytees of the couerynges of my bookes. It sholde be grete foly to me to applye by excessyue study myne vnderstandynge vnto so many dyuers thynges / where through I myghte lese my sensuall intellygence / for he that procureth too knowe ouermoche / and occupyeth hymself by excessyue studye / is in daunger for to be extraught from hymself also euerychone is dyspensed / be he a clerke or vnderstande he nothynge yet he bereth *the* name of a lorde. I maye as well commytte one in my place the whiche thynketh for to lerne seyence (*sic*) for hym and for me. And yf that I fynde my selfe in ony place in the company of wyse men to the ende that I speke no latyn / I shall condyscende vnto all theyr preposycyons for fere that I sholde not be reproched of that that I haue so euylly lerned. ¶ O doctours the whiche bereth the name and can nothynge of scyence / for to eschewe grete dyshonoure come neuer in the company of lerned men / our auncyent faders here before dyde not lerne theyr repplendysshynge scyence in the multytude of bookes / but of an ardaunte desyre *and* of a good courage. They had not theyr spyrytes so vnstedfaste as *the* clerkes haue at this present tyme / it were more propyre for suche folke for to bere asses eeres than for to bere the names of doctoures and can nothynge of cunnynge.

Pholomeus. philadelphus cuius memini. Josephus. li. xij. (*sic.*)

[*Sign. A. ii. *b.*]

Prouerb. v.

[Fr. Douce's MSS. notes on fly-leaf at beginning of book.]

"Some of the signatures are misplaced, but the book is otherwise perfect, unless it want a title, which is not clear, as there are 6 leaves prefixed to signature A.

"I know of no other copy of this edition, but have seen one printed on vellum with the date 1509, 4to, in the national library at Paris.

"Messrs. Brunet and Dibdin, the former in his 'Manuel du Libraire,' and the latter in his Bibl. Spenceriana, iii. 204, have erroneously ascribed the above edition of 1509 to the press of Pynson, and confounded it with the metrical translation by Barclay, which was printed in that year by Pynson *in folio*.

"The above French copy on vellum has a leaf at the beginning with ([THE SHYPPE OF FOOLES on a scroll, [etc. . . .]

"This is the Colophon: ¶ Thus endeth the shyppe of fooles of this worlde. Enprynted at London in Flete strete by Wynky*n* de Worde [. . .] MCCCC. ix [*sic*—G. P.]. ¶ The fyrste yere of the reygne of [. .] Henry the VIII. The vi. daye of Julii."

[In pencil by F. D.] "Some cuts used in 'Cock Lorels bote[1].' The Duke of Roxburgh's copy for £63."

Long as the extracts are from the two versions of Brandt's book, I venture to take another from Barclay's englishing, which justifies his captaining this Ship of Fools:—

Barclay the Translatour to[2] the Foles.

TO Shyp! galantes! the se is at the ful;
The wynde vs calleth, our sayles ar displayed;
Where may we best argue? at Lyn or els at Hulle?
To vs may no hauen in Englonde be denayd.
Why tary we? the Ankers vp wayed.
If any corde or Cabyl vs hurt / let, outher hynder,
Let slyp the ende / or els hewe it in sonder.

Retourne your syght; beholde vnto the shore!
There is great nomber that fayne woldbe aborde,
They get no rowme, our Shyp can holde no more.
Haws in the Cocke! gyue them none other worde.
God gyde vs from Rockes / quicsonde, tempest, & forde!
If any man of warre / wether / or wynde, apere,
My selfe shal trye the wynde, and kepe the Stere.

But I pray you reders, haue ye no dysdayne
Thoughe Barclay haue presumed of audacite
This Shyp to rule, as chefe mayster and Captayne.
Though some thynke them selfe moche worthyer than he,
It were great maruayle forsoth, syth he hath be
A scoler longe, and that in dyuers scoles,
But he myght be Captayne of a Shyp of Foles.

But if that any one be in suche maner case
That he wyl chalange the maystershyp fro me,
yet in my Shyp can I nat want a place,
For in euery place my selfe I oft may se.
But this I leue, besechynge eche degre
To pardon my youthe and to[o] bolde interprise;
For harde it is, duely to speke of euery vyce.

Non mihi si lingue centum sint oraque centum: ferrea vox: omnis scelerum comprehendere

For yf I had tunges an hundreth, and wyt to telo
Al thinges natural and supernaturall
A thousand mouthes, and voyce as harde as stele,
And [had] sene all the seuen Sciences lyberal,
yet cowde I neuer touche the vyces all,

[1] A fragment of C. L. is in the Douce collection. [2] tho, *orig.*

formas: *Omnia stultorum percurrere nomina possem.*

And syn of the worlde, ne theyr braunches comprehende,
Nat thoughe I lyued vnto the worldes ende.

But if these vyces whiche mankynde doth incomber
Were clene expellyd, and vertue in theyr place,
I cowde nat haue gathered of fowles so great a nomber,
Whose foly from them out-chaseth goddys grace.
But euery man that knowes hym in that case,
To this rude Boke let hym gladly intende,
And lerne the way his lewdnes to amende.

XXXVI. *Danielz Dreamz.* I cannot find this in the British Museum or at Lambeth, in Hazlitt's *Handbook*, or Collier's *Bibliographical Catalogue*, and therefore copy Lowndes's entry of it, p. 586, col. 1, ed. Bohn:—"The Dreames of Daniell, with the Exposycions of the xij Sygnes, devyded by the xij Monthes of the Yeare; and also the Destenys both of Man and Woman borne in eche Monthe of the Yere. Very necessarye to be knowen. Imprinted by me Robert Wyer. 16mo. Contains [A B C D E] F in fours. Mr. W. Brenchley Rye of the Museum says that 'Heber's copy sold 35 years ago for the moderate sum of *two shillings*.'

XXXVII. *The Booke of Fortune.* This is supposed to be a little verse tract in the Lambeth Library by Sir Thomas More; but on seeing it, I felt sure that this tract was,—as the printers of More's *Workes* said it was,—meant only as a Preface to the Booke of Fortune; for More must refer to that Book in the last lines of his own poem; he cannot have meant that the few French lines in his (or Wyer's) tract, and the English ones he puts into Fortune's mouth, were the real Booke of Fortune. The title of Wyer's tract is

"¶ The Boke of the fayre Genty[l]-/woman, that no man shulde / put his truste, or confy-/dence in: that is to say, / Lady Fortune: / flaterynge euery man / that coveyteth to / haue all, and specyally, / them that truste in / her, she decey-/ueth them / at laste." / (over a woodcut of "The Lady Fortune.") Colophon. "Imprynte by me Robert Wyer dwellyn-/ge, in Saynt Martyns parysse, in / the Duke of Suffolkes rentes / besyde Charynge / Crosse. / Ad imprimendum / Solum"/.

4to, 8 leaves, A (not signed) and B in fours, no date.

On the back of the title is, in 3 stanzas,

¶ The Prologue

As often as I consydre these olde noble clerkes,
Poetis, Oratours, & Phylosophers, —sectes thre—

Howe wonderfull they were in all theyr werkes,
Howe eloquent, howe inuentyue to euery degre,
Halfe amased I am, and as a deed tre
Stond styll, ouer rude for to brynge forth
Any fruyte or sentence that is ought worth.

¶ Neuertheles, though rude I be, in all co*n*tryuyng
Of matt*er*s, yet so*m*what to make I need not to care;
I se many occupyed in the same thynge.
Lo! vnlerned men nowe a dayes wyll not spare
To wryte, to bable, theyr myndes to declare,
Trowynge them selfe, gay fantasyes to drawe,
When all theyr cunnynge is not worth a strawe.

¶ Some i*n* french Cronycles gladly doth presume,
Some in Englysshe blyndly wade and wander,
Another in latin bloweth forth a dark fume,
As wyse as a great hedded Asse of Alexandre;
Some in Phylosophye, lyke a gagelynge gandre
Begynneth lustely the browes to set vp,
And at the last concludeth in the good ale cup.

¶ Finis Prologus.
quod. T. M.

On leaf A ii (not signed) is the reduced woodcut of St. John writing his Revelation (with a printer's ornament on the left), used on the title-page of Robert Wyer's 1542 edition of Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary* (see my edition for the E. E. Text Soc. 1870), and then two verses of French, with a printer's border on each side

Fortune perverse,
Qui le monde versse
Toult a ton desyre,
Jamais tu nas cesse
Plaine de finesse,
Et y prens pleasire

¶ Par toy ve*n*ent maulx,
Et guerres mortaulx,
Touls inconueniens;
Par mons et par vaulx,
Et aulx hospitalx,
Meurent tant de gens.

On the back are two English stanzas denouncing Fortune,[1] with "¶ Finis. *quod.* T. M." and a fresh woodcut of Lady Fortune.

On A iii (not signed) follow "¶ The wordes of Fortune to the People. *quod* Tho. Mo.", in six 7-line stanzas, beginning "Myne hyghe estate, power, and auctoryte," and ending "And he that wyll be a begger, let hym be." At the foot of the back in A iii is the title of the next poem "¶ To them that trusteth in Fortune" in thirty-three 7-line stanzas, beginning "Thou that art proude of honour, shape, or kyn," and ending "as are the iudgementes of Astronomye. ¶ Here Fineth Lady Fortune." The back of the

[1] Printed, like the foregoing Prologue, in Maitland's *Early Printed Books*, p. 441.

last leaf (B iv not signed) is taken up with two French stanzas of 8-lines each, asking Fortune where are divers heroes, "Fortune, ou est Dauid et Salomon" etc. and with the burden "Ilz sont tous mors: ce monde est chose vaine," and followed by the Colophon.

Now if we turn to Sir Thomas More's *Workes*, 'printed at London at the costes and charges of John Cawood, John VValy, & Richarde Tottell, Anno 1557, ¶ 5,' we find the main part of Wyer's tract printed as "Certain meters in English written by master Thomas More in hys youth for the boke of Fortune, and caused them to be printed in the begynning of that boke." The first poem is 'The wordes of Fortune to the people' a boast by her of her power, and a call on men to wait on her, ending

> And he that out of pouertie and mischaunce
> List for to liue, and will himself enhaunce
> In wealth & riches, come forth and waite on me!
> And he that will be a begger, let hyme be. (See 21 lines above.)

The second poem is 'Thomas More to them that trust in fortune', warning them of her fickleness, and what dangers lie in trusting her,

> Fast by her side doth wearie Labour stand,
> Pale Feare also, and Sorrowe all bewept,
> Disdayne and Hatred on that other hand,
> Eke restles watch fro slepe with trauayle kept,
> His eye drowsy and lokinge as he slept;
> Before her standeth Daunger and Enuy,
> Flatery, Dyceyt, Mischeif and Tyranny.

contrasting her with Poverty, and advising men to choose her before Fortune:

> Wherefore yf thou in suretie lyst to stande,
> Take pouerties parte, and let prowde fortune go;
> Receyue nothynge that commeth from her hande.
> Loue Manner and Vertue; they be only tho
> Which double Fortune may not take thè fro;
> Then mayst thou boldlie defye her tornyng chaunce;
> She can thè neyther hynder nor auaunce.

The third poem is 'Thomas More to them that seke Fortune,' and ends thus

> "Then forasmuch as it is fortunes guyse
> To graunt no manne all thinge that he will axe
> But as her selfe lyst order and deuyse,
> Doth euery manne his part deuide and taxe,
> I counsayle you eche one trusse vp your packs,
> And take nothing at all, or be content
> With such rewarde as fortune hath you sent.

He meaneth the booke of fortune.

All thinges in this booke that ye shall rede,
Doe as ye list, there shall no man you bynde
Them to beleiue as surely as your crede;
But notwithstandinge, certes in my mynde
I durst well sweare, as true you shall them fynde
In euery poynt, eche answer by and by,
As are the iudgementes of astronomye.

Thus endeth the preface to the booke of Fortune."

I think it clear, then, that Wyer's tract is a made-up one—after More's death in 1535 perhaps[1]—and *not* 'the Booke of Fortune' that Captain Cox had. What that was, I can't say; but no doubt an edition of the book licensed to William Powell on Febry. 6, 1559–60.

Recevyd of William Powell, for his Lycense for pryntinge of the boke of fortune in folio, the vj. day of Februarij . . . . . viij d.
Stationers' Register A, leaf 48; *Collier's Extracts* i. 25.

The earliest Fortune-telling book under *Fortune* in the British Museum Catalogue, is "A merry- conceited Fortune-Teller:" P(r)ognosticating to all Trades and Professions their good and bad Fortune. Calculated according to Art, for the Meridian of England, but may serve for all four parts, East, West, North, and South, from the beginning of the world to the end thereof. [over a portrait of a man] London, Printed for John Andrews, at the White-Lion near Py-corner 1662." Here are a few extracts:

"Polterers shall have very good fortune if they can make Geese of their customers: and they shall have ill fortune when their old Coneys will not go off for young Rabits.

Booksellers shall have very good fortune by other mens wits: and they shall have ill fortune when they have no customers for their Books, but Sir Ajax [a jakes. See *Nares's Glossary.*].

Citizens wives shall have very good fortune by going to Epsom-wels in the Summer-time, for there they may purge themselves of all their good qualities: but their Husbands shall have hornluck, for in the mean time they may chance to be made Cuckolds, and their wives cannot help it.

Labourers shall have very good fortune if they can have work all the year; and they shall have bad fortune, when they spend their wages on Saturday nights, and Sundays, and to have never a penny on Munday. . . . .

Habberdashers shall have good fortune when each gallant wears

[1] R. Wyer printed from 1527 to 1542.

Beavers, and when Countrymen buy coarse felts: they shall have ill fortune when their knavery is felt out. . . . .

Shoomakers shall have good fortune if they do not drink on Mundays, & so play all the week: & they shall have ill fortune when the stitch of love takes them, so that they go beyond their Last, and run a woing to get a young Lass."

XXXVIII. *Stans Puer ad Mensam.* Of this well-known translation, or rather, paraphrase—probably by Lydgate—of a Latin poem on how a youth should behave at meals, Caxton printed a first edition in 4to, in his 2nd type, before 1479 (Blades's *How to tell a Caxton*, 1870, p. 53); the Duke of Devonshire has one copy; and the only other known, that in Cambridge University Library, is imperfect. Then Wynkyn de Worde printed 3 editions,—the earliest one without a date, containing 12 leaves, and the others in 1518 and 1524 (in six leaves) in the Cambridge University Library. Of the first edition by Wynkyn De Worde, Mr. Bradshaw says:—"W. de Worde's edition is *Stans puer ad mensam* + 'Little John[1],' which fully accounts for the 12 leaves. He must have reprinted from a copy where Caxton's two were bound together. He reproduces Caxton's mistake of two pages transposed in printing, which is enough to show where he got his text." Mr. Bradshaw describes the book as

"*Stans puer ad mensam* in English by John Lidgate. The Book of Courtesy or Little John. London, Wynkyn de Worde, no date (1501–1510) 4°.

Collation: A B in Sixes, 12 leaves.

Title (in white on a black ground) 'Stans puer ad mēsā'; below this block, three woodcuts of a man, a woman, and, between them, a family of children.

Colophon (on the last page): ¶ Enprynted at London in Flete strete at the sygne of the sonne by me Wynkyn de Worde."

The book was licensed to Wally in 1557, as we have seen at p. lxxiv above. Doubtless there were several other old editions of it. A recast of it is worked into Hewe Rodes's Boke of Nurture, of editions of which before 1575 we know those by Johan Redman (about 1530), Thomas Colwell, Abraham Veale, Thomas Petyt, and perhaps John Kynge. See my reprint of H. Jackson's edition of 1577 in the *Babees Book*.

[1] Caxton's *Book of Curtesye*, edited by me for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series in 1868, from 2 MSS. and Caxton's unique print.

The short Latin original *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, I printed in the *Babees Book*, Part II, p. 30–3, with a literal englishing of it by Professor Seeley. In Part I of the same volume, pages 26–33 are two copies of the English paraphrase attributed to Lydgate, from the Lambeth MS. 853, about 1430 A.D., and the Harleian MS. 2251, probably about 1460 A.D. In my second Babees Book, or *Queene Elizabethes Achademy* &c. E. E. Text Soc. 1869, p. 56–64, is a much expanded version of the *Stans Puer* from the Ashmole MS. 61, after 1460 A.D. Of the shorter English version Mr. Halliwell printed a copy in *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, i. 156–8 from the MS. 2. F. 8, at Jesus College, Cambridge; and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt printed the same copy, in his *Early Popular Poetry*, iii. 23, but collated with three MSS. in the British Museum, Harl. 4011, Lansdowne 699, and Additional 5467. There are other copies of the poem in Ashmole MS. 59, art. 57, &c., and a differing version in Cott. Calig. A ii. leaf 13.

The poem tells a youth, that when he stands before his sovereign at the table, he's not to speak recklessly, and is to keep his hands still; not to stare about, lean against a post, look at the wall, pick his nose, or scratch himself; to look steadily at the man who speaks to him, and not cast his head lumpishly down; not to laugh wantonly before his lord, and to walk demurely in the streets. Before meals, the youth is to clean his nails, and wash his hands. At meals, he's not to press up to too high a seat, or be too hasty to eat; he's not to grin, make faces, or shout; not to stuff his jaws too full, or drink too fast. He's to keep his lips clean, and wipe his spoon; not to make sops of his bread, drink with a dirty mouth, dirty the tablecloth, or pick his teeth with his knife. He's not to swear or talk ribaldry, or take the best morsels, but to share with his fellows, eat up his scraps, and keep his nails from getting black. Also, he's not to bring up anew old complaints, or play with his knife, shuffle his feet about, spill the broth over his chest, use dirty knives, or fill his spoon too full. He's to be quick in doing whatever his lord orders; to take salt with his knife, and not to dip his meat in the salt cellar; not to blow in the general cup, or quarrel with his fellows, or interrupt any man telling a story. He's to drink ale and wine only in moderation; not to talk too much; and is to be gentle and tractable, but not over soft, and not revengeful. Lastly, children who don't behave well are to have the rod. But if they attend to this 'litil balade,' it will lead them into all virtues.

XXXIX. *The Hy Way to the Spitl-house.* Of this very important and interesting sketch of the broken-downs, scamps, and rogues,—the resorters to Bartholomew's Hospital—in Henry VIII's time, after the Statute 22nd Henry VIII (1530–1) against vagabonds (l. 375), and after the Reformation was established (l. 551 of the poem) we have only copies of one edition, printed by the author and printer of the poem, Robert Copland. He printed it at the shop where, after at least 22 years' work, he was succeeded by William Copland (? his younger brother, or son) in 1547 or –8, the Rose-garland in Fletestrete[1]. Mr. Utterson reprinted the *Hy Way* in his *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817, and Mr. W. C. Hazlitt also reprinted it in his *Early Popular Poetry*, 1866, iv. 17. After a Prologue, Copland tells us that about a fortnight after Hallowmas or All Saints' Day, Nov. 1, (the beggars' jubilee,) he took refuge from a storm under the porch of a hospital (Bartholomew's), and while there, talked to the porter, and saw a crowd of poor miserable people, and beggars, gather at the gate. (The hospital then gave temporary lodging to almost all the needy, as well as a permanent home to the deserving poor and sick; and Sisters attended to them.) Copland asks the Porter about the different classes of people who come to the hospital; and in their long talk—the poem is 1097 lines—all classes of the poor, the ne'er-do-weels, and the rascals, are described and discussed: twenty-three sets of them, I make.

First, Vagabonds[2] are rejected, and they lie huddled together like beasts about Smithfield market and places near, chiding and

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[1] William Copland's dated Rose-Garland books range from 1548 to 1557; he afterwards moved to the Three Cranes in the Vintry, whence two of his dated books are Tyndale's Parable of the Wicked Mammon, 1561, and a NEVVE BOKE (of prayers etc., at Lambeth) 1561; lastly, he moved to Lothbury, whence he issued no dated book, so far as I know, but Andrew Boorde's First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge that he printed at Lothbury was licensed in 1562–3. The full title of the *Newe Boke* is "¶ A NEVVE BOKE / Conteyninge. / An exortacio*n* to the sicke / The sycke mans prayer. / A prayer with thankes, / at *the* purificatio*n* of wome*n* / A Consolatio*n* at buriall. / Colossi. iii. / ¶ What soeuer ye do in / word or dede, do al in the / name of the Lord Iesu, & / geue thankes vnto God / the father by hym. / M. D. LXI. /" *Collation.* A B C in eights, D in four, (D ii signed D iii), the last leaf blank. *Colophon.* "¶ Imprinted at London in / saynt Martines in the / Vintry vpon the thre / craned wharfe by / Wyllyam / Copland. / (.·.) / " (The / marks the end of a line.)

[2] I ought to have referred to Robert Copland as one of Awdeley's and Harman's forerunners, in my Preface to their Vagabond-treatises, E. E. T. Soc. Extra Series, 1869.

brawling. 2, the persons admitted are the old, sick, and impotent, women in childbed, honest folk fallen in mischance, wayfaring men, maimed soldiers, and bedridden folk: all others have lodging for a night or two:—the modern Refuge, Poor-house, and Hospital, in one.—3, the Beggars, who work in pairs, one asking bygoers to take pity on the other: then one pulls out 11*d.*, says 'we've had a bad day, but let's go dine.' These don't come to the Hospital; their haunts are in Barbican, Turnmill St. (the whores' quarter), Houndsditch, and behind the Fleet; and there they revel and get drunk, lying like swine on their backs. Some beggar-masters have men under them, who sham diseases, put soap in their mouths to make 'em foam etc. These only come to the Hospital when they're sick indeed. 4, the Masterless Men, who say they've served the King abroad, and beg for help till they get a fresh service. Of these are 2 classes, *a* open beggars, ragged and lowsy, who prowl about and steal; *b* Nightingales of Newgate, who walk about decently drest—'In theyr hose trussed rounde to theyr dowblettes'—telling you where they've fought, or that they've been unjustly imprisoned, and then set free: all over the country they go, and they'll rob you of purse and clothes if they get a chance; and then at night dress up in sword, buckler, and short dagger, swear, brag, and 'passe the tyme with daunce, hore, pipe, (and) thefe.' These at last come to the gallows or the Hospital. Ah, says Copland, the Vagabond Act of 1530–1 isn't enforced; and the bawdy brybrous knaves who keep these Beggars-lodging-houses are not lookt after. 5. *Rogers*[1], who go about singing and praying, saying that they're poor scholars: 6, *Clewners*, whom the Rogers obey as captains, and who say they've taken the degree of priest in the university, and want money to go home and sing their first Mass for their benefactors: 7 *Sapients* or Quack-doctors, who work in two couples; the first Doctor affects not to know English; his mate tells a woman her child is near dying, but the Doctor can cure it. She gives the man money; the Doctor refuses any, but gives her some powder for her child; and the quacks go on. Next day the second couple come to her house, and say that the child is very bad, they'll stay a fortnight until they make it well. These rogues don't come to the Hospital. 8. *Pardoners*, whose business the

[1] I don't find this, or any of the four next names, in Awdeley or Harman.

Reformation has taken away: these do come, though they're as big rogues as the others:

> "For by letters they name them as they be;
> P. a Pardoner: Clewner a C:
> R. a Roger: A. an Aurium: and a Sapyent, S."

Copland doesn't describe the Auriums, so far as I see. 9. The Porter then describes, in lines 573–743, the unthrifts who come to the Hospital: men with no heart towards God, bad sons, alehouse priests, wasteful heirs, poor people dressing finely, careless folk who don't keep accounts, bad landlords, men always going to law, negligent farmers, self-willed people, meddlers, foolish merchants and workmen, wasteful rufflers, taverners and innkeepers for whores and thieves, dishonest bakers and brewers, people who marry too young, insolvent merchants, waiters for relations' money, men letting their wives ruin them, etc. 10. Men with shrews for wives. 11. Negligent masters, changeable servants, borrowers, too generous parents, gluttons, untidy careless people. 12. Adulterers, swearers, and blasphemers. 13. Sluggards. 14. Usurers and extortioners, if they get poor; but 15. Thieves and murderers generally go to prison and the gallows. 16. Drunkards —Dutch folk and Flemings are the worst.—17. Quarrellers. 18. Proud decayed gentry. 19. Hypocrites. 20. Men with wasteful gay wives. 21. Pedlars talking cant, 'the patryng cove' etc. (with a specimen of Cant or Pedlyng Frenche). 22. Mariners of Cock Lorel's Boat, unthrifts, the 24 Orders of Knaves[1], and the Order of Fools. 23, and last, of women,

> The systerhod of drabbes, sluttes and callets,
> Do here resorte, with theyr bags and wallets
> And be parteners of the confrary [= fraternity] 1080
> Of the maynteners of yll husbandry.

'To eschue vyce I thè vndertoke,' says Robert Copland of his poem, which is a most valuable help to our knowledge of Henry VIII's time, the necessary complement to Halle's Chronicle of the splendour and gaiety of that king's court life.

XL. *Julian of Brainford's Testament.* Of this second poem by the old printer Robert Copland, two editions only are known, and they were both printed by William Copland, in black letter. Each contains eight leaves 4to., and the earlier one's title, ac-

[1] See Awdeley's 25 Orders of Knaves, after his *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, in our edition (E. E. T. Soc.) p. 12.

cording to a copy made for me by Mr. G. Parker, is "Jyl of Breyntford's testament. Newly compiled," with the colophon "Imprented at London in Lothbury ouer agaynst Saint Margarytes church by me Wyllyam Copland." A copy of this edition is in the Bodleian, among Selden's books, 4to, C. 39. Art. Seld. As it was printed in Lothbury, its date must be 1562 or a few years after. The later edition is called "Jyl of Braintford's testament newly compiled[1]," and has a colophon "Imprinted at London by me William Copland." According to Mr. J. Payne Collier (*Bibl. Cat.* i. 152–3), the London edition of Jyl of Br*ai*ntford is earlier than the Lothbury edition of Jyl of Br*ey*ntford, because the Lothbury edition corrects many mistakes of the London one. But this fact proves to me that the Lothbury edition is the earlier of the two, because it is a commonplace among old-book men that first editions are the correct ones, and reprints the careless ones. The truth of this has been impressed on me by the collations of the 1st and 2nd editions of Wynkyn de Worde's *Boke of Keruinge* and Pope Piccolomini's *Lucres and Eurialus* englished, No. XIV, p. xxxviii above. The date of the later 'London' edition of *Jyl of Braintford* must be between 1547 and 1567; near the latter year, I suppose.[2]

The object of the excellent old printer in writing the poem has been obscured by some readers dwelling only on the coarseness of the legacy left by the old alewife (a fart[3]) to the people whom she satirizes. The poem is really of the same class as *The Hye Way to the Spytel Hous*, and its main object is to show-up the follies and vices of Henry VIII's time. As Copland says of himself when he read the *Testament* given him:

It dyd styre me to fall on smylyng,
Consyderyng the prety pastyme
And rydycle ordre of the ryme,
The couert termes, vnder a mery sence,
Shewyng of many the blynd insolence,
Tauntyng of thynges past and to come,
Where as my selfe was hyt with some:
And for that cause I dyd intend
After thys maner to haue it pende,
Prayeng all them that mery be,
If it touch them, not to blame me.

And again at the end, Robert Copland says, that his hostess's legacies are

Wylled to them that, without aduysement,
Do that thynge waer-of they repent.

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[1] Hazlitt's Handbook which spells 'Breyntford.'

[2] I expect that all W. Copland's "London" books were printed at Lothbury, and possibly after those printed "at London in Lothbury."

[3] Compare Chaucer, in the *Frere's Tale.*

Only one or two of these 'things' blamed or ridiculed—the treatment of a fair wench, and a thirsty bystander—are right morally; the rest are all wrong or foolish; the people who do them, being those who would ultimately have to take refuge in Copland's 'Spytel-Hous,' St. Bartholomew's. The setting of the story, the tale to point the moral, is unnecessarily coarse; but so was Copland's time; we must put up with the rough husk if we get the kernel.

The old alewife leaves twenty-five of her 'raps' to twenty-five sets of fools, and one and a half to the curate who makes her will. Let's take the first six as a sample. They are

(1) . . . hym that is angry
With his frend, and wotes not why.
2 . . hym that selleth al his herytage,
And all his lyfe lyueth in seruage . . .
3 He that settes by no man, nor none by hym,
And to promocion fayn wold clym. . . .
4. He that wyll not lerne, and can do nothyng,
And with lewed folk is euer conuersyng . . .
5. He that boroweth without aduantage,
And euermore renneth in arrerage . . .
6. He that geueth, and kepeth nought at all,
And by kyndnes to pouerte dooth fall.

Robert Copland says, or pretends, that a mery fellow, John Hardlesay, whom he met at Brentford, and with whom he went to drink at the Red Lion, at the shambles' end, first explained to him the meaning of Old Jyl's legacy, and gave him a tattered copy of her Testament.

As this tract has not been reprinted lately (I believe), I shall send it to press shortly, with another of the same class[1], *The Wyll of the Deuyl*, of which a unique copy of the early edition is at Lambeth. I have heard that Mr. J. P. Collier has reprinted a later edition in one of his Series. Mr. Halliwell noticed *Jyl of Breyntford* in his edition of 'The First Sketch of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor' for the Shakespeare Society, 1842, p. 68; and he said that the only copy of the earlier edition passed through the hands of Ritson and Heber; but neither he nor Mr. Collier said where it was when they wrote. Buried in the case of some bibliotaph[2], perhaps.

[1] The verse 'Talk of Ten Wives on their Husbands' Ware,' by some successor of the Wife of Bath, and a few other like pieces, will be included in the volume.

[2] See Blades's *How to tell a Caxton*, 1870, p. 27.

XLI. *Castle of Love.* The original of this, says Mr. W. F. Cosens, is the *Carcel de Amor* or Prison of Love, by Diego de San Pedro, published in 1492. Diego's poetry, says Mr. Ticknor (*Hist. Spanish Lit.* 1863, i. 382) "is found in all the Cancioneros Generales. He was evidently known at the court of the Catholic sovereigns [Ferdinand and Isabella], and seems to have been favoured there; but if we may judge from his principal poem, entitled 'Contempt of Fortune,' his old age was unhappy, and filled with regrets at the follies of his youth. Among these follies, however, he reckons the work of prose fiction which now constitutes his only real claim to be remembered. It is called the Prison of Love 'Carcel de Amor,' and was written at the request of Diego Hernandez, a governor of the pages in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella.

"It opens with an allegory. The author supposes himself to walk out on a winter's morning, and to find in a wood a fierce, savage-looking person who drags along an unhappy prisoner bound by a chain. This savage is Desire; and his victim is Leriano, the hero of the fiction. San Pedro, from natural sympathy, follows them to the Castle or Prison of Love, where, after groping through sundry mystical passages and troubles, he sees the victim fastened to a fiery seat, and enduring the most cruel torments. Leriano tells him that they are in the kingdom of Macedonia, that he is enamoured of Laureola, daughter of its king, and that for his love he is thus cruelly imprisoned; all of which he illustrates and explains allegorically, and begs the author to carry a message to the lady Laureola. The request is kindly granted, and a correspondence takes place, immediately upon which Leriano is released from his prison, and the allegorical part of the work is brought to an end.

"From this time the story is much like an episode in one of the tales of chivalry. A rival discovers the attachment between Leriano and Laureola, and, making it appear to the king, her father, as a criminal one, the lady is cast into prison. Leriano challenges her accuser, and defeats him in the lists; but the accusation is renewed, and, being fully sustained by false witnesses, Laureola is condemned to death. Leriano rescues her with an armed force, and delivers her to the protection of her uncle, that there may exist no further pretext for malicious interference. The king, exasperated anew, besieges Leriano in his city of Susa.

In the course of the siege, Leriano captures one of the false witnesses, and compels him to confess his guilt. The king, on learning this, joyfully receives his daughter again, and shows all favor to her faithful lover. But Laureola, for her own honor's sake, now refuses to hold further intercourse with him; in consequence of which, he takes to his bed, and, with sorrow and fasting, dies. Here the original work ends; but there is a poor continuation of it by Nicolas Nuñez, which gives an account of the grief of Laureola, and the return of the author to Spain."

The style, so far as Diego de San Pedro is concerned, is good for the age; very pithy, and full of rich aphorisms and antitheses. But there is no skill in the construction of the fable, and the whole work only shows how little romantic fiction was advanced in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. The *Carcel de Amor* was, however, very successful. The first edition appeared in 1492; two others followed in less than eight years; and, before a century was completed, it is easy to reckon ten, besides many translations[1].

Mr. F. W. Cosens says: "In Gayangos and Védia's Spanish edition of *Ticknor* is the following note. Tomo 3°, p. 546:—The 'chivalresque-sentimental' novel to which genus belongs the *Carcel de Amour* of San Pedro was imported from Italy, but never enjoyed much favour in Spain, rapidly passing away to give place to 'books of chivalry,' which in time became absolute masters of the field."

XLII. *The Booget of Demaunds.* This is perhaps "The Demaundes Joyous," a short set of comical Questions and Answers, the first printed edition of which (according to the reprint, which Mr. Collier says had about 50 mistakes) has this Colophon, "Thus endeth y^e^ Demaundes Joyous / Emprented at London in Fletestre/te at the sygne of the Sonne[2] by / me Wynkyn de worde / In the yere of our / lorde a M / CCCCC / and xi." It was reprinted in 1829 from the unique copy belonging to the late Richard Heber, by Thomas White, and the British Museum copy is inserted between the 'Contents' and text of Hartshorne's *Ancient Metrical Tales*, 1829. Mr. Collier has described the book in his *Bibl. Catal.* i. 217–18.

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[1] See Brunet, under *San Pedro*, iv. 193. The earliest French translation is *La prison damours*, Paris, Galiot du Pre, 1526, reprinted in Paris 1527. Others are *Lyon* 1528, *Paris* 1533, 1552, etc.

[2] 'swane' says the reprint, but it's 'Sonne' says Mr. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* i. 218.

Here is a sample of the *Demaundes* from the careless reprint: "¶ *Demaunde.* where became ye asse that our lady rode upon. ¶ Adams moder dede ete her. ¶ *Demaunde.* who was Adams moder. ¶ The erthe. . . . ¶ *Demaunde.* How many calues tayles behoueth to reche frome the erthe to the skye. ¶ No more but one if it be longe ynough. . . . ¶ *Demaunde.* What thynge is it that neuer was nor neuer shall be. ¶ Neuer mouse made her nest in a cattes ere. . . . ¶ *Demaunde.* why doth an oxe or a cowe lye. Bycause she can not sytte. . . . ¶ *Demaunde.* How many strawes go to a gose nest. ¶ None, for lacke of fete. ¶ Demaunde. what tyme in the yere bereth a gose moost feders. ¶ When the gander is upon her backe."

Mr. J. M. Kemble reprinted the *Demaundes* in his Vercelli Poems for the Ælfric Society.

Mr. Halliwell says, however, that Captain Cox's book is probably "Delectable demandes and pleasaunt questions, with their seueral aunswers in matters of loue, naturall causes, with morall and politique deuises. Newly translated out of Frenche into Englishe, this present year of our Lord God," 1566, printed by John Cawood in 4to. *Dibdin's Ames,* iv. 401, No. 2551. I can find no reference to the dwelling-place of any copy of this book. But as we are among Captain Cox's books of 'philosophy . . . beside poetrie and astronomie, and oother hid sciences,' it is more than possible that the *Booget of Demaunds* was "The Boke of Demaundes of the scyence of Phylosophye and Astronomye. Betwene Kynge Boccus and the Phylosopher Sydracke. Printed by R. Wyer[1], no date, 8vo, black letter, A to D in fours," a later edition of which Mr. Collier says is to be understood by the following entry in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 86,

nycholas Wyer	Recevyd of nycholas Wyer, for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled the demaundes . . . . . iiijd

No copy of this edition is specified.

XLIII. *The Hundred Mery Tales.* This is one of the best of our old Jest-Books, and is alluded to by Shakspere in his *Much Ado about Nothing.* We know of only 2 old editions of it, both by Rastell, and of each only one copy is known. The earlier of the two editions is no doubt that of 1526, "A .C. mery talys,"

[1] Robert Wyer's date is 1534–42, and Richard Wyer's 1548–50. both more or less, according to Ames and Dibdin.

whose colophon is "¶ Thus endeth the booke of a .C. mery talys. Emprynted at London at the sygne of the Merymayd At Powlys gate next to chepe syde. ¶ The yere of our Lorde .M. v. C. xxvi. ¶ The xxii. day of Nouember. Johannes Rastell. ¶ Cum preuilegio Regali." This was re-edited in 1866 by the discoverer of it, Dr. Herman Oesterley, from the only perfect copy known, which is in the Royal Library of the University of Göttingen. The copy of the later edition by Rastell is imperfect; it was discovered by the Rev. J. J. Conybeare in 1815, reprinted in the same year as Part II. of Mr. J. W. Singer's *Shakespeare Jest-Books* (3 Parts 1814–16), and again reprinted by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in his *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, 1864. Besides many small differences, this later undated edition leaves out 4 tales and three 'morals' that the 1526 edition has, but puts 3 new tales instead of them. Of the edition by Walley in 1558[1], no copy is known. The character of the book may be gathered from two short tales at the page on which my copy of Dr. Oesterley's edition chances to open, and that next to it, p. 77, 78,—tales of which no originals were known to the Editor of them[2]:—

XLV. *Of the plowmannys sonne that sayd he saw one make a Gose to kreke sweetly.*

There was a certayn ploughmannys sonne of the contrey, of the age ofe .xvi. yeres, that neuer come moche among company, but alway went to plough and husbandry / On a tyme this yong lad went to a weddynge with hys fader, when he see one lute vppon a lute[3]. And when he came home agayne at nyght, his moder askyd hym what sport he hade at weddynge. This lad answeryd and sayd, "by my trouth, moder," quod he, "ther was one that brought in a gose betweene his armys, and tykled her so vppon the nek, that she crekyd the swetlyest that euer I hard gose creke in my lyfe.

XLVI. *Of the maydys answere that was with chylde.*

In a marchauntys house in London there was a mayd whiche

[1] See the entry above, p. lxxiv.

[2] The 56th Tale alludes to the Coventry Plays. A parish priest of a village in Warwickshire preaches to his parishioners on the Twelve Articles of the Belief, and winds up thus: "these artycles ye be bounde to beleue, for they be trew, & of auctoryte. And yf you beleue not me / then, for a more suerte, & suffycyent auctoryte / go your way to Couentre / and there ye shall se them all playd in Corpus Cristi playe" (p. 100). Dr. Oesterley notes that these XII Articles of the Creed are in the Chester Play of "The Emission of the Holy Ghost," *Chester Plays*, vol. ii. p. 134, Shaksp. Soc., 1847.

[3] See p. 66 below, as to the shape of the lute.

was gotten with chylde; to whome the mastres of the house came, & chargyd her to tell who was the fader of the chylde. To whome the mayden answeryd, "forsoth, no body" / "why!" quod the maystres "yt ys not possyble but some manne muste be the fader thereof." To whome the mayd sayd / "why, mastres? why may not I haue a chylde without a man, as well as a hen to lay eggys wythout a cok."

¶ Here ye may see it is harde to fynde a woman wythout an excuse.

As another old writer says, "excuses are neuer further off women than their apron strings." (*Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatorie*, 4to, London, 1590, The Tale of the two lovers of Pisa.)

XLIV. *The Book of Riddels.* This set of questions and answers like the *Demaundes Joyous*, p. cvii, above, I have not been able to see, and therefore take Mr. J. P. Collier's description of it from his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, ii. 264. Mr. Halliwell says that the 1629 edition of the *Book* is in the Library of the Earl of Ellesmere.

"The Booke of mery Riddles. Together with proper Questions, and wittie Proverbs to make pleasant Pastime. No lesse usefull then behooveful for any yong man or child to know if he be quicke-witted or no.—London. Printed by Edward Allde, dwelling in Little Saint Bartholomewes, neere Christ-church. 1600. 8vo. B. L. 24 leaves.

"We can very well believe that this was not only "the book of riddles" which Master Slender had lent to Alice Shortcake, but that it was the edition which Shakespeare had in his mind when he wrote "The Merry Wives of Windsor" about the date when the reprint before us (for such it no doubt was) was brought out. We take it also, that it was a recent edition of the same "book of riddels" which Laneham in his Letter from Kenilworth mentions in 1575 as in the library of Captain Cox. (See vol. i. p. 451.)

"How many times it may have been reprinted between 1575 and 1600 it is impossible to state; but we never find it entered in the Stationers' Registers, and the oldest impression hitherto known, until the discovery of the present copy, was of the year 1629, when it was 'printed by T. C. for Michael Sparke, dwelling in Greene Arbor at the signe of the blue Bible.' We may be sure that such a collection was in great popular demand, but between 1631[1] and 1660 we are aware of no reproduction of it: in 1660 it

[1] "The exact wording of the title-page of the edit. 1631 is: "A Booke of Merrie Riddles. Very meete and delightfull for youth to try their wits.—

was 'printed for John Stafford and W. G. and are to be sold at the George near Fleetbridg.' All copies are in black letter, and the intermediate edition of 1631 was printed by Robert Bird in Cheapside.

"The wording of the title-page is nearly the same in all the copies we have been able to examine, but it is to be observed that the impression of 1660, although it announces 'proper questions and witty proverbs,' contains nothing of the kind: nevertheless, it is obviously complete, with the word Finis, and the initials of the publishers, in a chaplet, at the end. The 'proper questions and witty proverbs' was therefore a false pretence, and the book consists of only 12 leaves. All editions have the following lines opposite the title-page, but they are sometimes differently divided:—

'Is the wit quicke?
Then do not sticke
To reade these Riddes darke:
Which if thou doo,
And rightly too,
Thou art a witty sparke.'

Later copies than the one we have used read 'Is *thy* wit quicke,' and it is perhaps right. The antiquity of some of the riddles is thus established, carrying us back fourteen years anterior to the date of Laneham's Letter from Kenilworth:—

'What is that, round as a ball,
Longer than Pauls steeple, weather cock & all?'

The answer, called 'solution,' is 'It is a round bottome of thread when it is unwound.' Now, we know that the steeple of St. Paul's, with its weathercock, was consumed by fire, occasioned by lightning, in June, 1561. (Stow's Annales, p. 1055, edit. 1605,

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London. Printed for Robert Bird and are to bee solde at his shoppe in Cheapeside at the sign of the Bible. 1631." 12mo B. L. 11 leaves.

"We quote the following from the Edit. 1630, the more curious because it contains the words of a very old Catch, then usually sung by 'Ale Knights,' and which has come down to our day.

Q. I am foule to be looked unto,
Yet many seeke me for to win,
Not for my beauty, nor my skin,
But for my wealth and force to know.
Harde is my meate whereby I live,
Yet I bring men to dainty fare:
If I were not, then Ale-Knights should
To sing this song not be so bold,
Nutmegs, Ginger, Cinamon and Cloves,
They gave us this jolly red nose.
The foure parts of the world I show,
The time and howers as the doe goe;
As needfull am I to mankind
As any thing that they can find.
Many doe take me for their guide,
Who otherwise would runne aside.

'Sol(ution). It (is) a Loadestone, for without it no Pilot were able to guide a ship in the Ocean Seas.'"

edit. 1631, p. 647, and this vol. p. 134.) The riddle was therefore older than 1561.

"Some of the best Riddles are in 'The Demaundes Joyous[1],' printed by Wynken de Worde in 1511, (reviewed in vol. i. p. 217) the first of which is—'Who bare the best burden that ever was borne?' and the answer, 'That bare the asse when our lady fled with our lorde into egypte.' It stands thus in our 'Booke of Merry Riddles,' 1660—'Who bare the best burthen that was ever bore at any time since, or at any time before?' with the following 'solution:' 'It was the Asse that bare both our Lady and her son into Egypt.' Again, in the 'Demaundes Joyous' we have, just afterwards—'What space is from y^e^ hyest space of the se to the depest?'—'But a stones cast.' In our more modern form it is given as follows—'What space is from the highest of the sea to the bottom?—*Solut.* A stones cast, for a stone throwne in, be it never so deepe, will go to the bottome.' A third instance from the 'Demaundes Joyous' is this—'How many calves tayles behoueth to reche from the erthe to the skye?—No more but one, if it be longe enough.' The Riddle-book of 1600 has in it nearly the same terms—'How manie Calves tailes will reach to the sky?—*Solut.* One, if it bee long enough.' The two last are precisely the same in the impressions of 1629, 1631 and 1660.

"The following was no doubt, invented and printed before the Reformation, but it is not in the 'Demaundes Joyous' for obvious reasons: 'Of what faculty be they that everie night turn the skins of dead beastes? *Solution.* Those be Fryars, for everie night at Mattins [Vespers]? they turn the leaves of their parchment bookes that be made of sheep skins, or calfes skins.' The following is of a different character to the riddles we have already noticed, but it is not at first very intelligible:—

> 'L and V and C and I,
> So hight my Lady at the Font stone.'

The 'solution,' so to call it, is thus given: 'Her name is Lucy, for in the first line is LVCI, which is Lucy: but the Riddle must be put and read thus: fifty and five, a hundred and one: then is the riddle very proper, for L standeth for fifty, & V for five, C for an hundred and I for one.'

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[1] See No. XLII, p. cvii, above.

"Some are in rhyme, as the following, which is in substance and in prose, also in the 'Demaundes Joyous:'—

'A water there is which I must passe; a broader water there never was, | And yet of all waters that ever I see To pass it over is lest jeopardie.'

The solution in 1600 is "It is the due [dew] for that lyeth over all the world:" 'Demaundes Joyous' adds "Which is the broadest water and the leest jeopardye to passe over."

"The most curious and interesting part of this little volume consists of a list of 'witty Proverbs,' which as we have stated, are altogether omitted in the reprint of 1660. They are entirely miscellaneous, and we select only a few of the most pointed and satirical.

'There is no vertue that povertie destroyeth not.
All weapons of warre cannot arme feare.
Chuse not a woman, nor linnen cloth, by a candle.
He helps little that helpeth not himselfe.
He knoweth enough that knoweth nothing, if so bee hee know how to holde his peace.
He danceth well enough to whom Fortune pipeth.
He that liveth in Court dyeth upon straw.
That is well done is done soon enough.
Marvell is the daughter of ignorance.
The deeds are manly, and the words womanly.
He that soweth vertue shall reape fame.
The hearts mirth doth make the face fayre.
He that is in poverty is still in suspition.
He that goeth to bed with dogs riseth with fleas.
Fryars observants spare their owne, and eate other mens.
All draw water to their owne mill.'

"In the whole there are 131 of the Proverbs.

"The following shows that some of the proverbs are of foreign origin:—

'Venice, hee that doth not see thee doth not esteeme thee.'

This is, of course, Shakespeare's 'Venezia, Venezia, chi non te vede non te pregia'[1] (L. L. L., A. iv. sc. 2) which, perhaps, he had from Florio's 'Second Fruits' 1591, but without the sequel; which,

[1] In the Folio, *vemchie, vencha, que non te vnde, que non te perreche*, Booth's reprint, p. 132, col. 1.

among other places, we meet with in Howel's Letters, p. 53, edit. 1655,

> 'Venetia Venetia, chi non te vede non te pregia,
> Ma che t' ha troppo veduto te dispregia:'

Which has been thus translated:—

> 'He who ne'er saw thee, Venice, cannot prize thee.
> He who too much has seen thee must despise thee.'

Thus we see that our great dramatist may be illustrated from the most unlikely sources, for there was nothing too vast for his intellect, nor too insignificant for his observation. The small book of Riddles in our hands throws light upon two of his noble dramas."

XLV. *The Seauen Sororz of Wemen.* 'I am not acquainted with any tract bearing this title,' says Mr. Halliwell, and so say I. Any one who has not read the curious set of poems on Women in Mr. Hazlitt's 4th volume of *Early Popular Poetry*, 1866, should read them forthwith: they are The Payne and Sorowe of Evyll Maryage, The Boke of Mayd Emlyn, The Schole-house of Women, The Proude Wyues Pater-noster (see next article here), A merry Jeste of a Shrewde and curste Wyfe lapped in Morelles skin (see No. XXVI. p. lxiv above), A Treatyse shewing and declaring the Pryde and Abuse of Women NowaDayes, and A Glasse to Viewe the Pride of Vaine-Glorious Women.

XLVI. *The Proud Wives Paternoster.* Customs founded on the weaknesses of human nature abide; and as women in early days didn't like going to church when it rained (*Babees Book*, p. 36, l. 12), so they don't now; as, when there in old time, they lookt at one another's dresses, envied their neighbours' finery and resolved to outdo it, so they do now, more or less; and as men of old quizzed them for it, and protested against waste of money on overgay frocks &c., so do some now. When will women dress as comfort and good sense (and men?) dictate, and not to outbrave other women, or imitate nasty French models? But one mustn't grumble at small faults in great goods, and I hope we're on the mend: short frocks are in, chignons out; may sausages and pads soon disappear, and female heads retake their natural shape!

The Proud Wife goes to church, like other wives, thinking how 'to go gaye' and 'as gorgyous as other.' She says the clauses of the Pater Noster, and adds thought-tags not in the original Lord's Prayer, whereof here is a specimen:

¶ *Adueniat regnum tuum*—thy kingdom come to vs
After this lyfe, when we hens shall wende! (l. 50)
But whyle we be here now, swete Jesus,
As other women haue, suche grace in me sende,
That I may haue, Lorde, my heede in to wrap,
After the guyse, kerchefes that be fyne,[1]
And theron to sette some lusty trymme cap,
With smockes wel wrought, soude with sylken twyne.

¶ *Fiat voluntas tua*—thy well [will] fulfilled be
Lorde god, alway! as thys tyme doth requyre:
And as my gossep that sytteth here by me,
So let me be trymmed: nought elles I desyre. . . . (l. 60)

¶ *Sicut in celo et in terra*—in heauen as in erthe; (l. 65)
Yt is alway sene, go we neuer so farre,
That women aboue all, the beaute bereth;
And without gaye gere our beaute we marre;
Therfore, good lorde, let this be a-mende,
And gaye gere to were, that I may haue, (l. 70)
Or elles my lyfe wyll haue an ende:
For very pure thought [anxiety], nought can me saue.

The Proud Wife nearly swoons; but her gossip wrings her finger and revives her, and then sympathises with her in her trouble—the stinginess of her husband who won't give her money to buy fine clothes. The Gossip tells her how to manage the man: take a third of his gains, and spend it on 'rybandes of sylke . . with tryangles trymly made poynte deuyse,' 'fyne hoose,' and 'trym shos;'[2] then ask him for whatever she wants, but not when he's angry; crave it with loving countenance and fair words, asking only for small trifles at first, and then she'll get whatever large gifts she wants. But if he won't attend to her, and plays the churl, then the Wife must do so too, seize half of his goods—half is hers, and half his.

The Proud Wife says she shall get nothing but fists and staves if she does ask her husband for money, and so she shall take what she can, and get another mate. After service, though, she does ask her goodman, and he quietly reasons with her; tells her he's

[1] Compare Chaucer's Wife of Bath, *Prol. Cant. Tales*, l. 453–5. (Group A, § 1):

Hir *couerchiefs* / ful *fyne* weren of ground*e*
I dorste swere / they weyeden ten pound*e*
That *on a Sonday* / weren *vpon hir heed*e

[2] Compare again Chaucer's Wife,

Hir *hosen* weren of *fyn* scarlet reedo
fful streite yteyd / and *shoes* ful moyste and newe.
ib. l. 456–7, Ellesmere MS.

in debt, has only £20 to pay a hundred with, wears simple clothes himself, and cannot give her anything unless he steals it. His Wife only abuses and threatens him; and he, poor man, goes to consult his curate about it. After Mass, the priest can only say, 'do well and trust in God;' and the poor man goes home, to find that his wife has carried off all his 'short endes & mony that he had in store,' so that he's undone for ever.

"Suche *Pater Noster* some wyues do saye." But instead of it they'd better say 'the gow[ld]en Paternoster of deuocion,' of which we'll quote one stanza, l. 521–8:

> Chryt Jesu our kynge, and his mother dere,
> Be in our nede our socour and comforte,
> Our soules from synne to preserue clere,
> That the flame of charyte in vs reporte;
> To whom that we may resorte
> With blisful armony both all and summe;
> Swete Jesus! for vs exhorte,
> That vnto us—*Aduenìat regnum tuum.*

This abstract is made from Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's reprint of the two poems in *Early Popular Poetry* iv. 147–178, from the undated edition in the Bodleian, by Kynge, 576 lines. John Awdeley's edition, licensed on Aug. 14, 1560 (see the next article) has not come down to us, but we have two editions by John Kynge, one dated 1560, and the other undated:—

The Proude Wyves Pater noster that wolde go gaye, and undyd her Husbonde and went her waye. Anno Domini MDLX. [With a woodcut on the title of a man with purses at his girdle. *Colophon*] Imprinted at London in Paules Churche yearde at the Sygne of the Swane by John Kynge. 4to, black letter.

The License for this on June 10, 1560, has been already quoted from the Stationers' Register A, at p. xxiii above. The only copy now known is, I suppose, in Lord Ellesmere's Library (*Collier's Bibl. Account*, ii. 201). The title of the unique Bodleian copy is

The Proude wyues Pater noster, that wolde go gaye, and vndyd her husbonde and went her waye. [With a woodcut on the title of two women conversing, the righthand one the same as that on p. 167 of my reprint of Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge*. Colophon.] ¶ Imprinted at London in Paules Churcheyearde at the Sygne of the Swane by John Kynge. 4to. black letter. (*Hazlitt.*)

XLVII. *The Chapman of a Peneworth of Wit.* This is the poem printed by Ritson in his *Ancient Popular Poetry*, 1791, from the Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS. Ff ii. 38, and by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, in his *Early Popular Poetry*, vol. i. p. 193—from the Harl. MS.

5396, the Auchinleck MS. (as printed by Mr. D. Laing) and the Cambridge MS.—under its other title of "How a Merchande dyd hys wyfe betray." An edition that has not reacht us was licensed on Aug. 14, 1560.

"Rꝙ of John Sampson,[1] for his Lycense for *the* prynting of the proude wyues pater noster: *a panyworth of wytt*, and the plowmans pater noster, the xiiij of auguste . . . . . xij^{d}"

Other editions were licensed to John Charlwood on 15 January 1581–2 (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 155) and to Edward White on 16 August, 1586 (*ib.* p. 213), but they have not reacht us, nor has any other early printed copy. The earliest MS. of the poem is the Auchinleck, 1320–30 A.D., edited by Mr. David Laing for the Abbotsford Club in 1857, as "A Penni-worth of Witte, Florice and Blancheflour, and other Pieces of Antient English Poetry." It contains a few lines more than the MSS of 100 or 120 years later printed by Ritson and Mr. Hazlitt; but the Harleian MS. only contains half the poem. Mr. Laing says that the origin of the poem is the fabliau of "La Bourse pleine de sens" printed in the third volume of Barbazan's collection of *Fabliaux et Contes*, ed. 1808.

A merchant has a true wife, but neglects her for a paramour or concubine, to whom he gives rich gifts. When he is going to sea, he asks his wife whether she has any money to give him to buy her a present. She gives him a penny to buy her a Pennyworth of Wit, and keep it in his heart. The merchant sails to France, and buys his leman brooches, jewelry, and many fair things. Then, in the hearing of an old man, he wonders where he can get a pennyworth of wit for his wife. The old man answers 'Have you a leman or a wife?' 'Both,' says the merchant, 'and I love my paramour best.' 'Then,' says the old man, 'when you get home, put on old clothes; say that you've been shipwrecked, have lost everything, and have slain a man; ask for a night's refuge; and live with the woman who treats you best.' For this Pennyworth, the merchant pays his wife's penny, and acts on the advice. His paramour sees him coming in old clothes, declares she won't admit him: and on hearing his story, threatens to fetch the bailiffs if

[1] He is Awdeley, who wrote the *Fraternitye of Vacabondes*, and was called Sampson Awdley, or John Sampson. There's an entry in the Stat. Reg. with his aliases. (See the *Fraternitye*, with Harman's *Caueat*, E. E. T. Soc. 1869.)

he doesn't go off. He does go, to his wife; and she receives him gladly, like the Nutbrown Maid, says she'll shelter him, work for him, beg his pardon of the king; "I will never forsake thee in thy woe!" He sleeps with her; and next morning dresses himself richly, and goes to his paramour. She now is eager to kiss him and abuse his wife. But he won't have it. She puts down all the presents he has given her, £400 worth; and he sends them home to his wife as her own, bought with her penny; and lives with her happily ever after.

III. Captain Cox's Ancient Plays.

We have now reacht another division of Captain Cox's books, his four "auncient Playz." Of these, the first,

XLVIII. *Yooth and Charitee*, is no doubt that of which another edition was licensed to John Wally or Waley in 1557, and the entry of which, already quoted at p. lxxiv, is among the earliest in the Stationers' Register A, and is on leaf 22:

To mr. John Wally these bokes, Called Welthe and helthe / the treatise of the ffrere and the boye[1] / stans puer ad mensam[2]; a nother, *youghte, charyte, and humylyte;* an a b c for cheldren, in englesshe, with syllabes; also a boke called an hundreth mery tayles[3] . . . . . ijs

A copy of this edition—or perhaps a later and more carelessly printed one from the same press[4]—is in the British Museum (C. 34. b. 24) "Thenterlude of youth" over cuts of Charitie and Youth, with the colophon, "Imprinted at London by John waley / dwellyng in Foster lane." Another edition is also in the Museum (C. 34. e. 38) "The Enterlude of youth," over cuts of Charite, Youth (the cut used in Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge*, for a Bohemian, p. 166 of my reprint 1870) and a third figure for Humility (the cut in Boorde's *Introduction*, for a Dane, p. 162 of my reprint); and as the colophon is "Imprinted at London in Lothbury over a. / gainst Sainct Margarytes church by me / Wyllyam Copland. /," the date of the book must be 1562 or after, as Copland was at the Three Craned wharf in the Vintry in 1561, and at the Rose Garland, Fleet St. before that[5]. The Rev. S. R. Maitland in his *Early Printed Books at Lambeth*

[1] See No. XXXI, p. lxxiii, above. [2] See XXXVIII. p. xcix, above.
[3] See No. XLIII. p. cviii, above.
[4] See p. cix. I don't suppose that Coplande printed from Waley's edition.
[5] See p. xlviii, above.

1843, p. 309 &c. reprints a fragment of four leaves of another edition[1].

Charity tries to persuade Youth to follow God's laws, but Youth scorns him, and threatens to stab him; so he goes away to fetch Humility to convince Youth. Then comes Riot from Newgate, and promises Youth some wine and a wench at the tavern, and gets him Pride as his servant. Pride suggests that Youth shall take a wife; but Riot poohpoohs this, and says he must have Pride's sister, Lady Lechery, as his lemman. She comes, to Youth's delight, and they are all going off to the tavern, where Pride is to be Rector Chori (see my pref. to *Awdeley* etc., p. xv), when Charity interrupts them; but they chain him hand and foot, and go on. Humility then comes up, and looses Charity, and the tavern party come back to them. A dispute for Youth follows: At first he promises to follow Riot; but, on hearing from Charity how Jesus bought back men from hell with his blood, desires to save his soul, and betakes himself to God.

As a sample of the play, and the 2 editions (of which Copland's is the more correct), take Riot's speech as to what he can teach Youth, sign C. iiii.

Iohn Waley, 1557.	*Wyllyam Copland*, after 1561[2].
Syr [I] can teache you to play at the dice,	Syr, I can teache you to play at the dice,
At the quenes game, and at the Iryshe,	At the quenes game, and at the Iryshe[4],
The Treygobet and the hasarde also,	The Treygobet, and the hasarde also,
And many other games mo.	And many other games mo.
Also at the cardes I can theche you to play,	Also at the cardes I can teche you to play,
At the triump, and one and thyrtye,	At the triumph, and on and thirtye,
Post, pinion, and also aumsase,	Post, pinion, and also aumsase,
And at an[3] other they call dewsace.	And at an other they call dewsace.
Yet I can tel you more, & ye wyll con me thanke,	Yet I can tel you mor, & ye will con me thanke,
Pinke, and drinke, and also at the blanke,	Pinke, and drinke, and also at the blanke,
And many sportes mo.	And mane sportes mo.

XLIX. *Hikskorner.* Title "Hycke scorner" in a riband over a treble woodcut, with 3 single cuts below (the middle one an elephant with a castle on its back), and on the back, six single cuts

[1] Maitland had not seen Waley's edition in the Museum. I have compared his extracts with Waley's and Copland's books.

[2] He printed books in 1567; p. xxxviii–xxxix, above.

[3] ad, *orig.*

[4] A kind of backgammon. *Hazlitt's Brand*, ii. 315.

of 1. Co*n*templa[tion], 2 Pyte, 3 Frowyll, 4. Imagyna[cion], 5 Hyckscorner, 6. Persene[rance]; of which no. 4 was afterwards used by Wm. Coplande for a Saxon, a Spaniard, an Egyptian, etc. in Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge* (p. 165 etc. of my reprint); no. 2 for a Lombard, and a Latin man, by W. Copland, *ib.* p. 186; and for Boorde[1], by R. Wyer, *ib.* p. 305; and no. 5 by W. Coplande for a Bohemian, *ib.* p. 166.

The colophon is "Enprynted by me Wynkyn de Worde," over his device, the Sun and 2 planets ringed with stars, Caxton's monogram 'W C' below, and 'wynkyn de worde,' with his ornaments underneath.

First appear, one after the other, Pyte, Contemplacyon, and Persenerance, each describing himself, and Pity complaining of the poverty then existing, how unkind rich men are, and how lords force widows to marry their men. Then comes Frowyll, boasting of his drinking and wenching, and calls Imagynacyon, who has been in the stocks, and lost his purse on a girl; who describes himself as the friend of lawyers and all who like lies; and who tells some of his tricks. To them comes Hyckscorner, from 'the londe of rumbelowe, thre myle out of hell,' and divers other places, but last from the sea, wherein all the good people going to Ireland were drowned, while all the bad ones in his ship, where he kept a shop of bawdry, got to England safe. Imagynacyon proposes a visit to the stews; a quarrel follows; and when Pyte comes up to stop it, they all turn on him, chain his feet, and bind his hands with a halter. Pyte then moans over the state of England, and his rymes may be quoted as a sample of the play:

We all may say wele away
For symne *that* is now-adayo
Loo! vertue is vanysshed for ouer and ayo;
Worse was hyt nouer!

We haue plente of great othes,
And clothe ynoughe in our clothes,
But charyte many men lothes:
Worse was hyt nouer!
Alas! now is lechory called loue in dede, (B. iii.)
And murdure named manhode in euery nede;
Extorsyon is called lawe, so god me spede!
Worse was hyt nouer!

---

[1] See p. 170, 188 of *Introduction*, and *Roxburghe Ballads*, reprint, i. 154. These 2 lines are one in the original.

Youth walketh by nyght with swordes & knyues,
And ouer amonge, true men leseth theyr lyues.
Lyke heretykes, we occupy other mennes wyues
Now a dayes in englonde.
Bandes be *the* dystryers of many yonge women,
And full lewde counseyll they gyue vnto them:
How you do mary, beware you yonge men!
The wyfe neuer taryeth to longe.

There be many grete scorners,
But for synne there be fewe mourners;
We haue but fewe true louers
In no place now a dayes.
There be many goodly gylte knyues,
And, I trowe, as well apparaylled wyues,
Yet many of them be vnthryfty of theyr lyues,
And all set in pryde to go gaye.

Mayers on synne dooth no correccyon.
With gentyll men beroth trouthe adowne;
Auoutry is suffred in euery towne;
Amendyment is there none.
And goddes *com*maundementes, we broke them all .x.
Denocyon is gone, many dayes syn:
Let vs amende vs, we trowe crysten men,
Or doth make you grone!

Courtyers go gaye, and take lytell wages,
And many with harlottes at the tauerne haunte;
They be yemen of the wrethe *that* be shakled in gyues,
On themselfe they haue no pyte. [B iii back]
God punyssheth full sore with grete sekenesse,
As pockes, pestylence, purple, and axes,—
Some dyeth sodeynly that doth full perylous,—
Yet was there neuer so grete ponerte!

There be some sermones made by noble doctoures;
But truly the fonde dothe stoppe mennes eres;
For god, nor good man, some people not feres:
Worse was hyt neuer!
All trouth is not best sayd,
And our prechers now a dayes be halfe afrayde.
Whan we do amende, god woldo be well apayde:
Worse was hyt neuer!

Contemplacyon and Perseuerance loose Pyte, and he starts to arrest Hyckscorner and his mates. Meantime Frewyll comes back, and relates his and Imagynacyon's thefts. Perseuerance and Contemplacyon argue with him; and though he scorns them at first, he at last agrees to be sorry for his sins and save his soul. To them comes Imagynacyon; and he also, after much of his chaff, is persuaded to reform, and serve Perseuerance, while Frewyll serves Contemplacyon, both converting others. Of Hyckescorner's end nothing is said.

L. *Nu Gize*, or the New Guise. This is, no doubt, the Interlude published two years before Laneham wrote, 'for the purpose of vindicating and promoting the Reformation.' It was reprinted in the last edition of Dodsley; and copies of the original are in the British Museum (two), Bodleian (among Malone's books), Bridgewater House, Mr. Henry Huth's library, &c. "A New Enterlude / No lesse wittie: then pleasant, entituled / new Custome, devised of late, and for diuerse / causes nowe set forthe, neuer before / this tyme Imprinted. / 1573. /

The players names in this / Enterlude be these. /

The Prologue	
Peruerse Doctrine	an olde Popishe priest.
Ignoraunce	an other, but elder.
Newcustome	a minister.
Light of the gospell	a minister.
Hypocrisie	an olde woman.
Creweltie	a Ruffler.
Auarice	a Ruffler.
Edification	a Sage.
Assurance	a Vertue.
Goddes felicitie	a Sage.

¶ Fower may play this Enterlude.

1 *Peruersedoctrine*

2 *Ignoraunce*, *Hypocrisie*, and *Edification.*

3 *Newe Custome.*, *Auarice.*, *Assurance.*

4 *Light of the Gospell.*, *Creweltie.*, *Goddes felicitie.*, *The Prologue.*

[Col] "Imprinted at London in Fleetestreete by William How for Abraham Veale, dwelling in Paules churche yarde at the signe of the Lambe." 4to. black letter, A, B, C, D, in fours, 16 leaves.

Perverse-Doctrine opens the play by complaining of the 'newe-fangled pratling elfes' who 'go about, vs auncients flatly to deface;' and specially of one young preacher who 'in London not longe since' in a Sermon reviled at the holy sacrament and transubstantiation, disallowed the Popish rites, and said they were all superstition. Scene 2 brings in New-Custome lamenting the ills of his time, and contrasting them with the good old 'auncient times before'. As the writer clearly knew little of the latter, when,

> . . in comparison of this time of miserie,
> In those daies men lyued in perfect felicitie,

we had better take his account of the former.

. . this is sure, that neuer in any age before, (*sign B. i.*)
Naughtines and sinne hath ben practised more,
Or halfe so muche, or at all, in respecte, so I saye,
As is nowe (God amende all!) at this present daye.
Sinne nowe, no sinne; faultes, no faultes a whit.
O God! seest thou this? and yet wylt suffer hit?
Surely thy mercie is great; but yet our sinnes, I feare,
Are so great, that of Justice with them thou canst not beare.
Adulterie no vice: it is a thinge so rife;
A stale iest nowe, to lie with an other mannes wyfe;
For what is that but daliaunce? Couetousnesse, they call
Good husbandrie, when one man would faine haue all.
And eke a-like to that is vnmercifull extorcion,
A sinne, in sight of god, of great abhomination. (*sign. B. i. back.*)
For Pride; that is now a grace! for, rounde about,
The humble-spirited is termed a foole or a lowte.
Who so will bee so drunken that hee scarsly knoweth his waye,
Oh, hee is a good fellowe! so now a daies they saye.
Gluttonie is Hospitalitie, while they meate and drinke spill
Whiche would relieue diuerse whom famine doth kill.
As for all charitable deedes:—they be gone, God knoweth:
Some pretende lacke; but the chiefe cause is slowth,
A vice most outragiouse of all others, sure,
Right hatefull to God, and contrarie to nature.
Scarse, bloud is punished, but euen for very shame;
So make they of murther but a trifling game!
O! how manie examples of that horrible Vice
Do dayly among vs nowe spring and arise!
But thankes be to God, that such rulers doth sende,
Whiche earnestly studie that fault to amende,
As by the sharpe punishement of that wicked crime
Wee may see, that committed was but of late time.
God direct their heartes, they may alwaies continue
Suche iust execution on sinne to ensue!
So shall be saued the life of many a man;
And God wyll withdrawe his sore plagues from vs than.
Theft is but pollicie, Periurie but a face:
Suche is now the worlde! so farre men be from grace!
But what shall I say of Religion and knowledge
Of God, whiche hath ben indifferent in eache age
Before this? howbeit, his faltes then it had,
And in some poyntes then was culpable and bad?
Surely, this one thinge I may say aright;
God hath reiected vs away from him quight,
And geuen vs vp whollie vnto our owne thought,
Utterly to destroy vs, and bring vs to nought.
For do they not followe the inuentions of men?
Looke on the Primitiue Churche, and tell mee then
Whether they serued God in this same wise,
Or whether they followed any other guyse?
For since Goddes feare decayed, and Hypocrisie crept in,
In hope of some gaines, and lucre to win,
Crueltie bare a stroke, who with fagot and fier,
Braught all thinges to passe that hee did desier.
Next, Auarice spilt all; whiche, lest it should be spide,

Hypocrisie ensued, the matter to hide.
Then brought they in their monsters, their Masses, their Light,
Their Torches at noone, to darken our sight;
Their Popes, and their pardones, their Purgatories for sowles;
Their smoking of the Church, and flinging of cooles.
* * * * * * *
I saydo that the Masse, and suche trumperie as that,—
Popery, Purgatorie, pardons,—were flatt [*B ij back*]
Against Goddes woordo, and Primitiue Constitution,
Crept in through Couetousnesse and superstition,—
Of late yeres, through Blindenes, and men of no knowledge,
Euen suche as haue ben in euery age.

Act 2 introduces Light-of-the-Gospell encouraging New-Custome; Scene 2, traitor Hypocrisie advising Perverse-Doctrine and Ignorance how to act; but when she hears that Light-of-the-Gospell has come, she swears at him; he 'will worke vs the mischiefe:'

For since these Geneuian doctours came so fast into this lande,
Since that time it was neuer merie with Englande.
First came Newcustome, and hee gaue the onsay;
And sithens, thinges haue gone worse euery day. [*Sign* C. *iij*.]

Scene 3 brings in Crewcltie and Auarice, advising stocks, prisons, hanging, burning, as in Queen Mary's days; but as that will not do, they change their names to Justice-with-Severity, and Frugality — Perversedoctrine being Sounde-doctrine, and Ignorance, Simplicitie, to deceive men and pervert their minds. However, in Act 3, Light-of-the-Gospell converts Perversedoctrine, advises Newcustome not to take too much heed to the fashion of a garment, but to mind that 'the conscience be pure'; and Edification, Assurance, and Goddes-Felicitie, successively counsel the company.

The Captain's 'auncient playz' were the most moral books in his library.

LI. *Impacient Poverty.* In the play of "*Sir Thomas More* contained in the Harleian MS. 7368, and first printed in 1844 for the Shakespeare Society under the late Mr. Dyce's editorship, one of 'My Lord Cardinalls players' comes in, and offers to act a play—as the players afterwards did in *Hamlet*.—To More's question "I prethee, tell me, what playes haue ye?" the player answers:

Diuers, my lord: *The Cradle of Securitie*[1],
Hit nayle o' th head[2], Impacient Pouertie,

[1] Not extant. See an account of it in *Collier's Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* ii. 272 sqq.—Dyce.
[2] Not extant.—D.

The play of Foure Pees[1], *Diues and Lazarus*[2],
Lustie Juventus[3], and *The Marriage of Witt and Wisedome*[4].
MOORE. *The Mariage of Witt and Wisedome!* that, my lads,
Ile none but that! the theam is very good.

No copy of the play is now known, but in D. E. Baker's *Biographia Dramatica* (1764, continued by Is. Reed, 1782, and edited by Stephen Jones, 1812) we find the following entry on p. 328, col. 1:—

90. A NEWE INTERLUDE OF IMPACIENTE POVERTE, newlye Imprinted M. V. L. X (We suppose 1560) 4to. This piece is in metre, and in the old black-letter; and the title-page says: "*Four Men may well and easelye playe this Interlude.*"

IV. CAPTAIN COX'S BOOK OF MEDICINE.

LII. *Doctor Boords Breuiary of Health.* I have printed large extracts from this book, and given an account of it, of Boorde's other works, and his Life, in my edition of his *Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* 1547 or -8, and his *Dyetary* 1542, etc., for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series 1870. To this volume I refer my readers,—recommending them to read at least Boorde's comments on 7 Evils of England,—and only repeat here that the Breuiary is a brief 'alphabetical list of diseases by their Latin names, with their remedies, and the way of treating them. Other subjects are introduced, as *Mulier* a woman[5], *Nares* nose-

[1] (4 P's) By John Heywood. Reprinted in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vol. i.—D.

[2] Not extant. It was written by a player, if we may trust to a passage in Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit*; see Collier's *Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* ii. 272.

[3] By R. Wever (for I cannot think with Mr. Collier—*Hist. of Engl. Dram. Poet.* ii. 317—that there is any reason for doubting that Wever was its author.) Reprinted in Hawkins's *Origin of the English Drama*, vol. i.

[4] "The Contract [? MS.] of a Marige betweene wit and wisdome, very frutefull, and mixed full of pleasant mirth, as well for the beholders as the readers or hearers: never before imprinted . . . 1579." *Additional MS* 26,782 in the British Museum. This title is either copied from a printed edition or from a copy prepared for press. No early printed edition is known. Mr. Halliwell edited this Interlude for the Shakespeare Society in 1846. The Play acted in *Sir Thomas More* as *The Mariage* is 'nothing more than a portion of *Lusty Juventus*, with alterations and a few additions.'—Dyce, *Sir Thomas More*, p. 61.

[5] Furthermore now why a woman is named a woman, I wyll shewe my mynde. *Homo* is the latin worde, and in Englyshe it is as wel for a woman as for a man; for a woman, the silables conuerted, is no more to say as a man in wo; and set wo before man, and then it is woman; and wel she may be named a woman, for as muche as she doth bere chyldren with wo and peyne; and also she is subiect to man, except it be there where the white mare is the better horse; therfore *Vt homo non eantet eum cuculo*, let euery man please his wyfe in all matters, and displease her not, but let her haue her owne wyl, for that she wyll haue, who so euer say nay. (Fol. lxxxii. sign L. ii., back.)

thrilles, &c.' The *Breuiary* was written by Boorde by the year 1542, though it was not publisht till 1547,—with its 2nd part, the *Extrauagantes*,—having been 'examined in Oxford in June' 1546[1]. Boorde intended it as a companion to his *Dyetary:*

"I wolde that euery man hauynge this boke, shulde haue the sayd *Dyetary of Health* with this boke, consideryng that the one booke is concurrant with the other."

His own account of the *Breuiary*, in his Preface to it is as follows:

"Gentyll readers, I haue taken some peyne in makyng this boke, to do sycke men pleasure and whole men profyte, that sycke men may recuperate theyr health, and whole men may preserue theym selfe frome syckenes (with goddes helpe) as well in Phisicke as in Chierurgy. But for as much as olde, auncyent, and autentyke auctours or doctours of Physicke, in theyr bokes doth wryte many obscure termes, geuyng also to many and dyuerse infirmyties, darke and harde names, dyffycyle to vnderstande, some and mooste of all beynge Greeke wordes, some and fewe beynge Araby wordes, some beynge Latyn wordes, and some beynge Barbarus wordes. Therefore I haue translated all suche obscure wordes and names into Englyshe, that euery man openlye and apartly maye vnderstande them. Furthermore, all the aforesayde names of the sayde infirmites be set togyther in order, accordynge to the letters of the Alphabete, or the .A. B. C. So that as many names as doth begyn with A. be set together, and so forth, all other letters as they be in order. Also there is no sickenes in man or woman, the whiche maye be frome the crowne of the head to the sole of the fote, but you shall fynde it in this booke, as well the syckenesses the which doth parteyne to Chierurgy as to phisicke, and what the sickenes is, and howe it doth come, and medecynes for the selfe same. And for as much as euery man now a dayes is desyrous to rede briefe and compendious matters. I therefore in this matter pretende to satisfye mens myndes as much as I can, namynge this booke accordyng to the matter, which is. The Breuiary of health." (Fol. v., sign A. v.)

V. Captain Cox's Ballads.

We now come to the Captain's "bunch of ballets & songs, all auncient"; but unluckily Laneham didn't care so much for our old English ditties as he did for our story-books and poems, and has therefore stinted us to seven names of ballads, and that disappointing "a hundred more." What possesst the man to care more for the songs that showed off his "Spanish sospires, his French heighes, his Italian dulcets, his Dutch hovez, his doubl releas, his hy reachez, his fine feyning, his deep diapason, his wanton warblz, his running, his tyming, his tuning, & his twynkling," than for our merry old greenwood songs? Let's all

[1] Lowndes says that it was reprinted in 1548, 1552, 1577, etc. I have not been able to see the 1547 and 1548 editions, but of the 1552 one, and the next, I have titleless copies.

vote him a noodle for this; though no doubt the "Gentlwemen" of his time liked the sentimental ballads best, as they generally do now. So we must forgive the ladies, and turn to the seven ballads that Laneham does name. Of them, only four have been identified; and as the first and last are partly given, with nine others (perhaps 9 of Captain Cox's 'hundred more') in a play of the period, we may as well make an extract from that first. The play is "A very mery and Pythie Commedie, called *The longer thou liuest, the more foole thou art.* A Myrrour very necessarie for youth, and specially for such as are like to come to dignitie and promotion: As it maye well appeare in the Matter folowynge. Newly compiled by VV. VVager [Woodcut] ¶ Imprinted at London by Wyllyam HoW for Richarde Johnes: and are to be solde at his shop vnder the Lotterie house" [ab. 1568, says Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*]. (A B C D E F G in fours, but G iij signed A iij; leaf iij of D E F signed, but not that of A B C. British Museum Press-mark, C. 34. e. 37.)

After 'the Prologe,' [A 3] '¶ Here entreth *Moros*, counterfaiting a vaine gesture and a foolish countenance, Synging the foote of many Songes, as fooles were wont

Moros. BRome, Brome on hill,
The gentle Brome on hill hill:
Brome, Brome on Hiue hill,
The gentle Brome on Hiue hill,
The Brome standes on Hiue hill a.

¶ Robin, lende to me thy Bowe, thy Bowe,
Robin the bow, Robin lende to me thy bow a:

¶ There was a Mayde come out of Kent,
Deintie loue, deintie loue.
There was a mayde cam out of Kent,
Daungerous be:
There was a mayde cam out of Kent,
Fayre, propre, small and gent,
As euer vpon the grounde went,
For so should it be.

¶ By a banke as I lay, I lay,
Musinge on things past, hey how.

¶ Tom a lin and his wife, and his wiues mother,
They went ouer a bridge all three together;
The bridge was broken, and they fell in:
"The Deuil go with all!" quoth Tom a lin.

¶ Martin swart and his man, sodledum, sodledum.
Martin swart and his man, sodledum bell[1].

[1] Skelton, laureat, (who died in 1529) has an evident allusion to the same song:

"With hey troly lo, whip here Jak.
Alumbek sodyldym syllorym *ben*,
Curiowsly he can both counter and knak
Of *Martyn Swart and all hys mery men*."
(Against a comely Coystrowne, etc., *Works* (1736), p. 254.)

Martin Swart was concerned in the insurrection made by the lord Lovel and others against Henry VII, anno 1486, and was slain at the battle of Stoke;

¶ Com ouer the Boorne, Besse,
My little pretie Besse,
Com ouer the Boorne, besse, to me[1].
¶ The white Doue sat on the Castell wall,
I bend my Bow, and shoote her I shall,
I put hir in my Gloue, both fethers and all.
I layd my Bridle upon the shelfe;
If you will any more, sing it your selfe.
Discipline. O Lorde, are you not ashamed,
Thus vainly the time to spende. . . .

Moros. I haue Twentie mo songs yet,— [A 3 back]
A fond woman to[2] my Mother,
As I war wont in her lappe to sit,
She taught me these and many other:
I can sing "a song of Robin Redbrest,
And my litle pretie Nightingale;"[3]
"There dwelleth a iolly Foster here by west;"
Also, "I com to drink som of your Christmas ale."
Whan I walke by my selfe alone,
It doth me good my songs to render.
Such pretie thinges would soone be gon,
If I should not sometime them remember.

LIII. *Broom, Broom on Hil.* This ballad is in the list of the *Complaynt of Scotland*, some 27 years before Laneham[4], but is now

having been sent over with some troops, by Margaret, duchess of Burgundy, sister to K. Edward IV. *Ritson's Ancient Songs*, vol. i. p. lxxxiv, note, ed. 1829. See also Dyce's notes in his *Skelton's Works*, ii. 93–4.

[1] Shakspere has put these three identical lines into the mouth of Edgar in K. Lear. A moralization of the song is (with the music) in the editor's folio MS. [Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 5665. See notes to Forewords.] Ritson, *ib.* p. lxxxv, note.

[2] I had to, was.

[3] [Appendix to the Royal MSS 58, leaf 7 bk. See also leaf 6, back.]

The lytyll prety nyghtyn*e* gale
a-mong*e* the leuys grene,—
I wolde I wer*e** wyth hur*e* all nyght!
but yet ye wote not whome I mene.

The nyghtyng*e* gale sat one a brere,
Among*e* the thornys sherpe & keyn*e*,
and comfort me wyth mery chere:
but yet ye wot not home I mene.

She dyd aper*e* all on hur*e* kynde
a lady ryght well be-seyng*e*,
w*ith* wordys of loff tolde me hur*e* mynde:
but yet ye wote not whome I mene.

hyt dyd me goode a-pon*e* hur*e* to loke;
hur*e* corse was closyd all in grene;
away fro me hur*e* hert she toke;
but yet ye wot not whome I mene.

"lady," I cryed wyth rufull mone,
"haue mynd of me that true hath bene,
for I loue none but you alone:"
but yet ye wot not whome I mene.

[4] See below, p. cliii. (62).

* MS. I wolde I wer*e*, I wolde I were. The final ll of the MS has always a line over it.

lost. Mr. Wm. Chappell in his *Popular Music* ii. 458–461 gives an account of the English ballad and tune of *The broom of Cowdon Knowes*, and others connected with it. Its burden is

With O the broom, the bonny broom,
The broom of Cowdon Knowes;
Fain would I be in the North Country,
To milk my daddies ewes.

But this is not to be identified with Laneham's ballad, the only one approaching to which is contained in the lines above, p. cxxvii, sung by Moros, in Wager's interlude, "which appears," says Mr. Chappell, "to have been written soon after Elizabeth came to the throne . . .

Brome brome on hill,
The gentle brome on hill, hill:
Brome, brome on Hive hill,
The brome stands on Hive hill-a."

Mr. Chappell quotes the passage, and then observes "This repetition does not give the metre or the correct words of the song" meaning, of course, the later song known to us. "The tune, or upper part, was to be sung by one person, while others sang a foot, or burden, to make harmony."

"The ballad of *Brome on hill* in Mr. Gutch's *Robin Hood* ii. 363 is a modern fabrication." The earliest ballad of the kind preserved, is described by Mr. Chappell as a black-letter one in the Pepys Collection, i. 40, entitled *The new Broome*, London, printed for F. Coles—whose date is from 1646 to 1674—and consisting of 7 stanzas with the following burden:

The bonny broome, the well favour'd broome,
The broome blooms faire on hill;
What ail'd my love to lightly mee,
And I working her will?

LIV. *So wo* [= well] *iz me begon, Troly lo.* This song in praise of Serving-Men, Ritson printed in his *Ancient Songs from the Time of King Henry the Third to the Revolution*, 1790, p. 92, from the Sloane MS 1584, 'a small book, partly paper, partly parchment, chiefly written by "Johannes Gysborn, Canonicus de Couerham," whose manual or pocket book it seems to have been[1], tempore

[1] The book is an odd mixture of recipes, hymns, songs, a tract (imperfect) on a priest's duties, questions to be put at the confessional, etc. etc. From the latter, take

Questions for a woman. (Leaf 8.)

Haue ye maid youe more gayer in Reyment off kercheus one your hed, for plesur of ye world, ore off the pepull, ony tyme more thene other? haue youe obeyd your husband at alle tymes, os ye are bownd? haue youe weschyd your face with any styllyd waters ore oyntementes to make youe fayrer in the

Hen. 8.' The song is on the back of leaf 45, betwen the recipe for 'a souerayne laxatyffe' and a Sermon for Easter-day.

So well ys me be-gone, troly lole!
so well ys me be-gone, troly loly[1].

Off *ser*uyng[2] men I wyll begyne, Troly, loley,
ffor they goo mynyon trym; Troly loley.
Off mett & drynk & feyr clothyng, Troly loley.
by dere god, I want none . Troly, loley
His bonet is of fyne scarlett . Troly loley,
With here as black os geitt . Troly[3] lolye.
His dublett ys of fyne satyne . Troly lolye
Hys shertt well mayd, & tryme[4]; Troly, lolye.
Hys coytt itt is so tryme & rownde; Troly, lolye.
His kysse is worth A *hundred pound*[5]. Troly, lolye
His hoysse of london black . Troly lolye
In hyme ther ys no lack . Troly lolye.
His face yt ys so lyk a man . Troly, lolye.
Who cane butt loue hyme than? Troly, lolye.
Wher so e*uer* he bee, he hath my hert . Troly lolye.
And shall to deth de part[6]. Troly lolye.
So well ys me be-gone . troly, loly.
S[o] well ys me be gone . Troly, lolye.

---

syght off pepull? haue you*e* schewyd your brest*es* open to tempt any to syne? haue youe had any enuy agayns any womane, that sche has bene fayrer then youe, or bett*er* louyd then youe? haue ye synnyd in lechere w*ith* any mane be-syd your husband? haue ye synnyd w*ith* your husband wh*en* ye haue ben in childbed? haue ye ou*er*-lyne your chyld, ore peryschyd itt att any tyme? haue youe gyffune any drynke vnto your husband to make hyme lystear to occupye w*ith* youe? haue youe drunkune any contagius drynke to dystrowe your chyld, other weddyd ore syngull? haue youe bene mystem-p*er*yd wit*h* ale att any tyme? haue ye sworne w*ith* any womane in any purgac*i*on apon a boke, & has for-sworne youe wyllyngly? haue ye consentyd vnto any bawdry for [*leaf* 9] lukar off money, and keppyd ther cownselle? haue ye bakbytyd ore slaunderd any man or woman, & browght them in a nyll name? haue yowe maid any soleme vowe of fast ore pylgrimage? haue youe payd your tythes & offerynge*s* onto the chirche? haue youe done your pennans that ye haue bene Inueyd [?] be-fore tyme."

All the final *d*'s have a curly tail which may mean *e*. I have long intended to print one or two of these early Confessional treatises, as a help to enable us to understand the practical working of the Romish system in English homes.

[1] Compare, in *Hyckescorner*, sign. C. i.

Now wyll I synge, and lustely sprynge;
But whan my feters on my leges dyde rynge,
I was not glade, perde! but now, hey *trolly lolly!*

And William Cornyshe's song facsimiled in Mr. Wm. Chappell's paper in *Archæologia*, xli. 372, one of a hundred specimens of a 'Trolly Lolly':—

Trolly lolly, lo! syng troly loly!
my loue is to the grene wode gone;
now after her will I go!
syng trolly lolly, lo trolly lolly!

[2] suyng, *Ritson*. [3] Torly, *orig*. [4] fyne, *Ritson*.
[5] C^l^, *orig*. [6] ? do part, or *departe*, divide us.

LV. *Ouer a whinny, Meg.* Not known now.

LVI. *Hey ding a ding.* This is the burden of the famous old ballad "Old Simon the King," and that was possibly the ballad which Captain Cox possesst. It is printed in Durfey's *Pills to purge Melancholy*, 1719, iii. 143, and in the *Percy Folio Loose Songs*, p. 124, from which, as it gives the burden 'for the first time complete,' I reprint the first verse of the ballad below. The two tunes to which the ballad was sung, with a text of the ballad, and much interesting information about it, are given by Mr. Wm. Chappell in his *Popular Music* i. 262–269, and he has further notes on it in his vol. ii. p. 776, 792, 796.

In an humor I was of late,
as many good fellowes bee,
*tha*t thinke of no matter of state,
but thé keepe merry Companye:
*tha*t best might please my mind,
soe I walket vp & downe the towne;
but company none cold I ffind
till I came to the signe of the crowne.
mine ostes was sicke of the mumpes,
her mayd was ffisle[1] att ease,
mine host lay drunke in his dumpes:
"they all had but one disease,"
sayes old simon the *King*, sayes old
Simon the *King*,
with his ale-dropt hose, & his malmesy
nose,
with a hey ding, ding a ding, ding,
with a hey [ding, ding a ding, ding,]
with a hey ding [ding], q*uo*th Simon
the king[2].

LVII. *Bony lass vpon a green*
LVIII. *My bony on gaue me a bek* } not known now.

LIX. *By a bank as I lay.* This exists in a MS, one of the Appendix of Royal MSS, No. 58, leaf 8, back.

[By a Bancke as I Lay.]

By a bancke as I lay
musynge my selfe A-lone—hey how!
A byrdys voyce
dyd me Reioyce,
syngynge by-fore the day;
And my-thought in hure lay
she sayd wynter was past—hey how!
Dan dyry, cum den, dan dyry,
cum dyry, cum dyry, [3]cum dyry,
cum dyry, cum dan! hey how!
The master of musyke,
the lusty nyghtyngale—hey how!
ffulle meryly
& secretly
She syngyth in the thyke,
And vnder hure brest a prike,
to kepe hure fro slepe—Hey how,
Dan [&c]
A-wake, there-for, younge men,
Alle ye that louers be—hey how!
thus[4] monyth of may,
soo fresh, soo gay,
So fayre be feld on[5] fen,
hath ffloryshe ylke a den;
grete Ioy hyt is to see,—hey how!
&c.

Dr. Rimbault printed this ballad in his *Little Book of Songs and Ballads* 1851, p. 53–4, with *few* and *adew* (like Mr. Collier[6])

[1] ? breaking wind. [2] The line is nearly all pared away.
[3] leaf 9. [4] read 'this.' [5] read 'and.'
[6] *Stat. Reg.* i. 193–4. See my *Andrew Boorde*, p. 71, note [4].

for *fen* and *a den*,—and added on p. 55–6 a differing later copy, naming 'noble James our king,' from *Deuteromelia, or the Second Part of Musick's Melodie, or Melodius Musicke of Pleasant Roundelaies*, etc., 1609. Its second line is "musing on a thing that was past and gone," which, the Doctor notes, is nearer to Wager's "Musinge on things past, hey how," than the 2nd line of the Royal MS. copy. Dr. Rimbault also says "At the end of the only copy known to exist of a Collection of Secular Songs, printed in 1530, a Song is inserted in MS. beginning with the same words [as Wager's?], but containing a laboured panegyric upon Henry the Eighth. The Editor has not seen this copy."

Mr. Chappell gives the tune, and an account, of this song at p. 92–3 of his *Popular Music*, vol. i.; and at p. 52 quotes from the Life of Sir Peter Carew, by John Vowell, alias Hoker, of Exeter, (*Archæologia*, vol. 28) "the king himself [Henry VIII] being much delighted to sing, and Sir Peter Carew having a pleasant voice, the king would often use him to sing with him certain songs they call 'Freemen Songs,' as namely, '*By the bancke as I lay*,' and 'As I walked the wode so wylde,'" &c.

"And a hundred more," says Laneham. Oh that we had their names!

Captain Cox's Almanacks.

We now come to the last section of Captain Cox's books, his Almanacks. Prof. De Morgan would be the right man[1] to give us an account of these. I can only offer a list of those by the Captain's three authors that have come under my notice, adding two of Dade's, because he is mentioned in "The Kinge enioyes his rights againe" in the *Percy Folio Ballads* ii. 2519. We'll take those in Bagford's list first, because he mentions among them an unknown Caxton, though Mr. Wm. Blades judges this "all fudge!":

Bagford's Collections. Harl. MS. 5937, leaf 8[2].

"A Catalouge of Almonickes sence y^e^ first printing of them. and y^e^ first I haue met with is y^e^ prodnostication of Mr. Jasper

[1] He is gone, alas, with all his weight of learning, and all his fun, since the proof of this went back for revise.

[2] On another leaf Bagford queries when the first edition of the *Book of Knowledge* (Andrew Boorde's) was publisht. In 1547–8, no doubt. See my reprint, E. E. T. Soc. 1870.

Leate of Antwarpe, and translated out of Lattin into English; and printed in 4°, by will Caxton . . . . . 1493[1]

"The grate & true prodnostication with a Almonicke composed by M^r. John Leat of Barthlom, D^r. Medicyne and Astro[no]me, preceptor and Rector of y^e Scoold of Antwarpe, in 8 . . . 1521
in 4° 1535
8- 1539
8- 1541"

There is however a bit of an earlier almanac by Jasper Laet de Borchloen in the fragments in the Lambeth Library, namely for the year 1510, which is described by Maitland in his *Early Printed Books at Lambeth*, p. 264[2].

Among Bagford's titlepages and fragments are the following by the Laets:

Harl. MS. 5937, leaf 18, N° 58. (A.D. 1516.)

¶ The pronosticacio*n* of maister Jaspar late, of borchloon / doctour in astrologie, of the yere . M. CCCC. xvi. trans/lated in/to ynglissh, to the honorre of te [*so*] moost noble & vic-/torious kynge Henry the .viij. by your moost hu*m*ble sub-/iect, Nicholas longwater, goeuerner of our lady co*n*ception / in y^e renowmed towne of Andwarp, in sinte Iorge perys / (6 *lines at the top of* 1 *leaf full of printing.*)

Harl. 5937 leaf 11, N° 26 (A.D. 1523)

A pronosticacyon / of Master Iasper Laet de / borchloen Doctor in medycy/ne for y^e yere of our lorde god / M. v. C. &. xxiiii. / ¶ Cum gracia et priuilegio. / ¶ Iaspar Laet. (*Over a cut, and with elaborate borders.* 2 *leaves*)

Ib. N° 33, lf. 12 bk and 13. (A full sheet & complete Almanack, A.D. 1530. The headline is:) "¶ Almynack and Pronostication of the yere of oure lord M, LLLLL, and , xxx," And at foot is: "Gaspar Laet The yonger, Docter yn Phy[syk]. Emprented at Antwerpe by me Cristofel of Ruremunde."

MS. Harl. 5937, lf. 16, N° 51 (A.D. 1533)

The pronosticaci[on] / [calcu]led by mayster Iaspar Lae[t of] / Andwarpe / vpon the merydian / of the sayd towne, for the / yere of our lorde god . / M. D. xxxiij. (over a cut of an astronomer, with a quadrant, looking at 6 stars and a comet: at back is)

[1] Mr. Hazlitt enters, in his *Handbook* p. 484, col. 1, No. 4, a 'Prognostication by Gaspar late, of Antwerpe, . . . for the yere, M. CCCCXXX. IIII; but he must have left out a C, and meant 1534: compare the 1533 title below.

[2] Maitland also refers to two Prognostications by James Laet, in *Panzer*, II. 346, No. 711. I cannot find any life of the Laets.

Bicause that .xliiij [yeres] past my father mayster Iasp[ar] Laet, and .xx. yere before hym, his father mays[ter] Iohn laet (Whome Iesu pardon), bothe astro[no]mers, hath yerely, vnto the profyte of the comyn [welthe calcu]late and put forth certayn pronosty-cacio*n*s . . . . wherfore I have proposed . . to furnysshe the same, after the noble and true sci[ence of Astro]nomy . . . .

Harl. 5937, lf. 16, N° 50. (A.D. 1541)

¶ Pronostica-/cio*n* of the yere / of our Lorde / M, v^c, xlj, / ¶ Practysed by the re/nowned doctor in / Astronomy and / Physicke / Jaspar Laet /. (*On the back is:*) "For as much as I haue taken vpon me yearely to shewe the influences with theyr operations here beneth vpon earth, and that, folowynge alwaye, for the most parte, Ptolome in his seconde boke Apotelesmaton, as one that is best alowed of experte Astronomers, notwithstandynge that he is very brefe and harde in his writynge: Therefore shall I fy[r]ste brefely recyte the princypall fundame*n*tes of our present Pronostication, leste it shulde be supposed she were pronosticated vaynly and without foundament.

"The fyrst fundament shalbe the Eclipse of the So*n*ne of the yeare of .xxxix. last past, the xviii. day of Apryll, at .iii. of the clocke at after noone, which was of the greatnesse of .ix. poyntes, which Eclipse shall yet geue influence very strongly, by reason of his distaunce from the orientall corner (for it befell in the .viii. degre of Taur*us*, in the .viii. house), and also because the same eclypse dyd last nerehande .ii. houres, as we dyd shewe at length at that tyme.

"The secounde fundament is & shalbe the Eclipse of the Sonne of the yeare of .xl. last." (2 *leaves. I don't print the second.*)

leaf 18 back, no. 62 (A.D. 1542?)

✠ An Alm[a] / nacke & P[ro]-/nostication of the ren[ow-] / med doctor in Astron[omye] / Iasper Laet the yere of [our] Lord God. .M. ccccc [xl..] / and the declaration of th[e] / signes and theyr qualit[es] / with the son rysynge / ¶ Imprinted in Lon[don] / by Iohn Waley (2 *leaves*)

leaf 15 back. (under Borde's *Pronosticacyon* of 1545[1]) N° 47

(A.D. 1543)

Almanack / and Pronostica-/tion of Jaspar Laet. / Of the yare, of our / Lord God. M. D. / XLIII. / ¶ In this Almanacke ye / shall fynde, all the Epystles and Gos-/pels of euery Sondaye and holy daye. (2 *leaves*)

[1] One leaf, printed in my *Boorde*, p. 25.

A.D. 1544

N° 48 Pronostication of Ja[spar] / Laet doctor of Phisicke and Astro[nomer] / for the yere of our Lorde God / M. v^c. xliiij.

A.D. 1550.

A Pronostication for the year of oure Lorde M. CCCCC. L, calculated for the Meridian of Antwerp, &c. by Jasper Late, W. H. Octavo (*Herbert's Ames*, 1786, i. 584.)

We now come "unto Nostradam of Frauns," for printing whose Almanacs there is a regular shoal of licences and fines in the Stationers' Register A. Bagford's first title is that of the Almanac of 1566:

Harl. MS. 5937, leaf 14.

An Almanicke made by the Noble and worthy Clarke, Michaell Nostra[da]mes D^r in phisick: Imprinted at London by Jo. Kingston 1559

Id. an outher of y^e same Nostridames, Imprinted by will: Copland for Nicolas England 1559

Harl. 5937, lf. 25, N° 120

"An Almanacke / and prodigious premonstrati-/on, made for the yeare of / grace. 1566. By / Mi. Nostrodamus, / § * § /

The God which eche mans visage well doth see,
His temple gates to come for to vnbarre:
And Pandores boxe vncouered shall bee,
A great thicke cloude for to dissolue from farre.

[over a woodcut of a globe in a frame, with the legend 'Admirandus Altissimus.']

¶ Imprinted at London by Henry Denham." (Title only)

but the Stationers' Register A begins in 1558 with

Luke Haryson — Lucke Haryson ys lycensed to prynte the *pro*nostication of m^r nostradamus and also his almanack for the same yere . viijd.

and in the year 1558–9

William Copland, for pryntinge of a *pro*nostication of nosterdamus *with*oute lycense, and for mysbehavynge hym selfe before the master and wardyns, was fyned at iijs. iiijd.

Mr. Halliwell says "Dibdin (N° 2733) mentions an "Almanacke for the yeare 1559 composed by Mayster Mych. Nostradamus," 8vo. In the Stationers' Register A, leaf 85, we have

m^r Wally — Recevyd of m^r wallye for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke & *pro*nostication of nostradamus for this yere a^o 1562 viijd

Of the Almanacs of "oour John Securiz of Salsbury" we find these entries in the Stationers' Register A:

(leaf 72 back, A.D. 1561–2.)

J. Wally R. of master Wally for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke of John securys iiijd

m^r^ Wally **Recevyd** of m^r^ wallye, for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke & *pr*onostication of m^r^ John Securys for the yere of *our* lorde god 1563 . . . . . viijd. (MS. lf. 85)

(MS, lf. 134 back.)

T marshe / **Receyvd** of Thomas marshe, for his lycense for pryntinge of an almanacke & pronostication of m^r^ John Securis for a^o^ 1566 / } viijd

Mr. Halliwell says 'In the Bodleian Library is preserved "A newe Almanacke for the yere of our Lord God, 1567, practised in Salisbury by Maister John Securis, Phisitian."' I can find no life or notice of Securis.

Bagford has also a leaf of an almanac by Securis, A.D. 1573, Harl. MS. 5937, lf. 25.

No. 123 (John Securis A.D. 1573)

"¶ A Prognos-/tication made for the / yeare of our Lord God, / 1573. / ¶ Practised in Salisburie, by Iohn / Securis Maister of Art and / Phisicke / Anno Mundi 5535 / (over a cut of a warrior (?) on a 4-wheeled chariot drawn by 2 horses)

¶ Imprinted at London, by Richard / VVatkins, & Iames Robarts / Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis."

Lastly, we note the bits of Dade's Almanacs in Bagford's collection in Harl. MS. 5937, for the reason given on p. cxxxii.

"No. 125. Dade. / A prognostication / in which you may be/holde the state of this / present yeere of our / Lord God, M. DC. / Made and set foorth by / Iohn Dade Gent. prac/ticioner in Phisicke. / Imprinted at London for Ed/ward White, the assigne of / Iames Roberts.

"No. 126. Dade. 1600. / An Almanacke and / Prognostication in which / you may behold the state of / this yeere of our Lord God / 1600. / Beeing leape yeere. / Made and set foorth by Iohn / Dade Gent. practitioner in / Phisicke. / Imprinted at London by / Richard VVatkins and / Iames Robertes / Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis. /" (Both in Harl. 59397, leaf 25 back.)

On leaf 7 back, Bagford also notes

"An Almanicke and prognosticacion in which you may behould y^e^ State of y^e^ Yeare of our L^d^ god 1599: made and set ffourth: by Jo: Dade Gent

praktiser in phisicke, and Imprinted by Rich. Watkins & James Roberts in 8. 1599
Id. on in 12 by y^e^ same Dade, and Imprinted at London by Assignes of James Robertes. 1602

That a so-called Dade's Almanack was publisht so late as 1694, for the year 1695, see Harl. 5937, leaf 64, No. 338.

My reason for giving a sketch of all Captain Cox's books, and printing all his ballads, that I could get at, was, that my readers might contrast the literature of the reading unpious middle-class man of Elizabeth's pre-Shaksperean time[1], with that of the same kind of man now, and also think whence Spenser, Shakspere, Bacon, Milton, sprang, and what we owe to them. And surely, no member of the Tory Party even, can want 'the good old times' of literature before 1575, back again in our Victorian age, far as we are from what we ought now to be. But still, don't let us misjudge the said old times; neither wholly, nor mainly, was their sky filled with cumuli of silliness, or dark storm-clouds of coarseness; the sun of manliness was plainly seen, and rays of love, of friendly truth, and honest mirth, cheered the beholder's heart.

We now turn to compare the Englishman's list by Laneham, with the Scotchman's list in the *Complaynt of Scotland;* but must recollect that we are putting the Tradesman who has made his own way in the world, beside the Scholar, one who, though he has his affectations as well as Laneham, is a far more cultured man, and writes with a far higher purpose. He is a Reformer, part of the salt of the earth. To his more serious ends his book was at first wholly devoted; but happily he determined to hand down to the aftertime an account of his countrymen's lighter readings and sports,—the books, songs, tunes, and dances, that cheered the hard life of Scotland in the middle of the sixteenth century[2]. He accordingly, as Mr. James A. H. Murray will show in his edition of the *Complaynt* for the Extra Series of the Early English Text Society 1872 or 1873,—inserted into his book, after the

[1] He most probably couldn't read Chaucer, as his modern representative can't, though I hope our Societies are helping to alter that.
[2] That it was hard,—yes, very hard,—see my Preface to *Lauder's Minor Poems*, E. E. Text Soc. 1870.

sheets were printed, some pages on different paper, of which the part that concerns us now is as follows:

"I thynk it best that ve recreat our selfis vytht ioyus comonyng quhil on to the tyme that ve return to the scheip fald vytht our flokkis. And to begyn sic recreatione, i thynk it best that euyrie ane of vs tel ane gude tayl or fabil, to pas the tyme quhile enyn. Al the scheiphirdis, ther vyuis and saruandis, var glaid of this propositione. than the eldest scheiphird began, and al the laif follouit, ane be ane in ther auen place. it vil be ouer prolixt, and no les tideus, to reherse them agane vord be vord. bot i sal reherse sum of ther namys that i herd. sum vas in prose, & sum vas in verse: sum var storeis, and sum var flet taylis. Thir var the namis of them as efter follouis.

(1) The taylis of cantirberrye.

[By Geoffrey Chaucer. Editions before 1548: by Caxton, about 1478, from a bad MS, and ab. 1484 from a better MS.; by Pynson about 1493 and (with the Boke of Fame, and Troylus,) in 1526; by Wynkyn de Worde in 1498; in The Workes (ed. Wm. Thynne), by Thomas Godfray in 1532; and by John Reynes or Wyllyam Bonham in 1542, the Plowman's Tale being *after* the Parson's. The 3rd ed. of the Works is about 1550, says Mr. Bradshaw, by the Booksellers—Wm. Bonham, R. Kele, Petit, or Toy—and the Plowman's Tale is *before* the Parson's.]

(2) Robert le dyabil, duc of Normandie.

[The prose Life (from the French *Romant de Robert le diable*) was twice printed by Wynkyn de Worde without date: 'the lyfe of the moost feerfullest and vnmercyfullest and mysheuous Robert y• deuyll, whiche was afterwarde called the seruant of our lorde Jhesu cryste.' A copy of one edition is in the British Museum, C. 21. c.; and another is in the Cambr. Univ. Library. Mr. Thoms reprinted this in vol. i. of his *Early Popular Romances*, 1828, and says it is taken direct from the French, and is not a reduction of the English verse text.

Of the verse Life, which, says Mr. Hazlitt, 'follows in general the prose narrative, but exhibits occasional amplifications,' 'a fragment printed with the types of Wynken de Worde or Pynson is in the Bodleian Library.' The verse romance was reprinted for J. Herbert in 1798, 8vo, from a MS "which appears to have been transcribed word for word" (*Thoms*) from the old printed edition, and has been again reprinted in Mr. Hazlitt's *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, i. 217–263: see also p. 264–9. As the verse text tells the same story as the prose one, I use it for the following sketch.

A good Duke of Normandy, to please his lords, weds the daughter of the Earl of Burgundy, but for 12 years has no child by her. For this they grieve greatly, and often pray for a child. At last the Duchess becomes convinced that God will not hear their petition, and so, on the night that she conceives, she prays to the Devil to send them a child, and vows she will give it, soul and body, to the Devil. Accordingly, a boy is born, and a terrible storm follows. The boy is very big; his teeth grow fast, and he bites his nurse's nipples off. He grows; bites other children, puts their eyes out, breaks their legs and arms; they call him "Roberte the Deuylle." At seven years old, he thrusts a dagger into his teacher's belly, for correcting him; he mocks priests, scorns clerks, and hurts men

at their prayers. When he is older, his Father makes him a knight, that his vows may improve him; but he grows worse; at jousts, he kills knights, breaks horses' backs, and strikes down old and young. Then he makes a raid into the country, robs and kills, ravishes maidens and wives, pulls down abbeys, slays young children. His father sends men to take him; he puts out their eyes. When more men are sent, he gathers a band of thieves, kills men, spoils crops, eats flesh on Fridays, and cuts off 7 Hermits' heads. Wherever he goes, all people flee from him. This, at last, makes him repent; he begs his fleeing mother to stay, to tell him how he was born; and then he vows that he'll amend and go to Rome. He returns to his band of thieves, and exhorts them to repent too; but they mock him and refuse; so he kills them every one. Then he rides to an Abbey, prays for God's forgiveness, and sends the key of his treasure to his father, to make restitution for his robberies and sins. He then goes to Rome, prays the Pope's pardon, and confesses his sins to him. The Pope sends Robert to a hermit near, who has a revelation that Robert must counterfeit a fool, act like one, pull his food from a dog, sleep with dogs, and be dumb. All this, Robert does; acts the fool at the Emperor of Rome's court, gnaws one end of a bone while a dog gnaws the other, shares a loaf with the dog, and sleeps on straw with it. But soon the Seneschall of the Saracens invades Rome to win the Emperor's deaf and dumb daughter. The infidels are winning, when an Angel gives Robert a white steed and armour, and he soon routs the Saracens. He rides off, and his horse and armour vanish. All this, the Princess sees. Robert comes again as a fool to the Court; and when the Emperor asks who the White Knight is, the Princess always points to the Fool, for which her father abuses her. Again the Saracens invade Rome, and again Robert, armed by the Angel, routs the foe and disappears. On the second day of the fight, 6 knights sent by the Emperor, try to discover Robert, and one wounds him in the thigh. The Emperor thereupon promises his daughter to the wounded knight. On this, the Saracen Seneschall wounds himself, personates Robert, claims the Princess, and is about to wed her, when she, by miracle, speaks, and exposes him. Robert is then found among the dogs, and will not speak till the Hermit tells him his sins are forgiven. He then weds the Princess, comes to Normandy, and is loved. The Seneschall invades and slays the Emperor, for which Robert kills him; and then comes home again, fears God, has a son (who is one of Charlemagne's knights), dies, and goes to heaven.

> Nowe, all men beare these in remembraunce:
> 'He that lyueth well here, no euyll death shall dye.'
> Yonge and olde, that delyteth to reade in storye,
> Yt shall youe styrre to uertuous lyuynge,
> And cause some to haue theyr memorye
> Of the paynes of hell, that ys euer durynge.
> By readynge bookes, men knowe all thynge
> That euer was done, and hereafter shalbe.
> Idlenes, to myschief many a one doth brynge. . . .

The original of Robert the Devil was Robert, father of William the Conqueror, and sixth Duke of Normandy. Part of the legends about him have been transferred to a different person, Robert, King of Sicily (and Jerusalem,) Duke of Apulia etc., who tried to make peace between Edward III and the French king, and whom Froissart and others tell us of. The Romance of Sir Gowghter in the Royal MS 17, printed by Utterson in his *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, 1817, 8vo, vol. i, is in character 'substantially identical with *Robert the Devil*, the names,

localities, and other adventitious features only being changed.' 'Sir Frederic Madden pointed out, in his edition of the *Old English versions of the Gesta Romanorum*, 1838, 4°, that the foundation story of 'Robert the Devil' and 'Robert of Sicily' is the tale of *Jovinianus*, which is told at considerable length both in the English and Latin *Gesta*.' (Hazlitt, *E. Pop. Poetry*, i. 268.)]

(3) The tayl of the volfe of the varldis end.

[*Volfe* should be *volle*, says Mr. J. A. H. Murray[1], and that means *well*. If so, Robert Chambers, in his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, tells at p. 105–7 a fairy tale of "The Wal at the Warld's End (*Fife*)," whither a nasty queen with a nastier daughter, sends the nice daughter of a king, to fill a bottle with water. The nice daughter comes back ten times nicer, and marries a bonnie young prince; but the nasty daughter, when sent, comes back ten times nastier, and marries a cobbler, who licks her every day with a leather strap.]

(4) Ferrand, erl of Flandris, that mareit the deuyl.

[The story is probably the same which is related by Gervase of Tilbury, "de Domina castri de Espervel[2]," and by Bournaker, of the ancestor of the Plantagenet family[3]. *Leyden*, p. 237. Barbour mentions Earl Ferrand's mother in *The Bruce*, book iv, l. 241 etc., p. 85, ed. Skeat:

> The erll ferrandis moder was
> Ane nygramansour, and sathanas
> Scho rasit, and him askit syne,
> Quhat suld worth of the fichtyne
> Betuix the franch kyng and hir sone.

The devil gave an ambiguous answer; and the outcome was that the Earl

> . . discumfit wes, & schent, (l. 280)
> And takyn, and to paris sent.]

(5) The taiyl of the reyde eyttyn vitht the thre heydis.

[A. S. *Ēoten*, a giant. 'Sir David Lindsay relates, in the prologue to his *Dreme*, that he was accustomed, during the minority of James V, to lull him asleep with '*tales of the red-etin* and the gyre carlin.' *Leyden*, p. 319. See the Early English Text Society's ed. of Lyndesay, p. 264, l. 45. As Lyndesay mentions several of the stories named in the *Complaynt*, it may be as well to quote his lines here:—

> More plesandlie the tyme for tyll ouerdryue,
> I haue, at lenth, the storeis done discryue
> Off Hectour, *Arthour*, and gentyll Iulyus,
> Off Alexander, and worthy Pompeyus,
>
> Off *Iasone and Media*, all at lenth,
> Off *Hereules* the actis honorabyll,
> And of Sampsone the superuaturall strenth,
> And of leill Luffaris storeis amiabyll;
> And oft tymes haue I feinzeit mony fabyll,—

[1] *Volfe* should undoubtedly be 'volle' or 'velle.' The South-Scotch pronunciation of well is *woll* or wull, and a place near Ashkirk written Well is always called *Woll*. I am going to print *volle*, in my edition of the *Compleynt*, having no doubt as to it. *Wolf* is before given as *voff*, modern *wouf*.—J. A. H. M.

[2] Otia Imperialia, ap. Script. Rer. Brunsvic. vol. i, p. 978.

[3] Forduni Scotichron. a Goodall, vol. 2, p. 9.

Off Troylus the sorrow and the Ioye,
And *Seigis* all, of Tyir, Thebes, and *Troye.*

The *Prophiseis* of Rymour, Beid, & *Marlyng,*
And of mony vther plesand storye,— 44
Off the reid Etin, and the gyir carlyng,—
Comfortand the, quhen that I saw the sorye.

Robert Chambers, in his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, p. 89–94, prints 'from Mr. Buchan's curious manuscript collection'—an untrustworthy source, I assume—a fairy tale of the *Red Etin of Ireland*, a three-headed giant, who is killed by a poor widow's son who answers his three questions, "Whether Ireland or Scotland was first inhabited? Whether man was made for woman, or woman for man? Whether men or brutes were made first?" The young man frees the giant's prisoners, and among them a king's daughter, whom he marries.]

(6) The tail quhou perseus sauit andromada fra the cruel monstir.

[*Ovid's Metamorphoses*, iv. 663 etc. This and the other classical stories were probably only short tales from some translation of Ovid, and, most likely, not printed ones.]

(7) The prophysie of merlyne.

[See the Lyndesay extract above, l. 43. Editions by Wynkyn de Worde in 1510 and 1529 are known, and Warton says there was an edition by John Hawkins in 1533. 'Here begynneth a Lytel Treatyse of the Byrth and Prophecye of Marlyn.' Colophon: 'Here endeth a lytell treatyse of Marlyn, whiche prophesyed of many fortunes or happes here in Englande. Enprynted in London in fletestrete at the sygne of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde the yere of our lorde a M CCCCC and X.' 4to, 44 leaves. (*Hazlitt.*) 'This poetical romance,' says Lowndes, 'differs in many respects from the MS. copies. See Brydges's *Censura Literaria*.' After the date of the *Complaynt* we have a book which perhaps contains some Prophecies made before that date: "The Whole Prophesie of Scotland, England, & some part of France, and Denmark, Prophesied bee meruellous *Merling*, Beid, Bertlingtoun, Thomas Rymour, Waldhaue, Eltraine, Banester, and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruelous things. Printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie. Anno. 1603." And reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1833. The Prophesies of 'Merling' are on pages 3–9, 12–14 of the reprint; and another version of parts of the second of these was printed by Mr. Lumby for the Early English Text Society, in *Bernardus de Cura Rei familiaris* etc. 1870, p. 18–22: see Preface, p. ix.]

(8) The tayl of the giantis that eit quyk men.

[Probably some version of Jack the Giant-killer, or Jack and the Beanstalk, many varieties of which used to thrill me when a boy, when, after darkness had put an end to "Kings, Covenanters!" "Duck," or "Hy-Spy," we used to gather into an entry to "tell boglie tales," till our hair stood on end, and we were too frightened to separate to go home.—J. A. H. Murray.]

(9) On fut, by fortht, as i culd found.

[That is, 'On foot, by Forth, as I did go.' A ballad not now known.]

(10) Vallace.

[Of the only edition known before 1548, a fragment of 20 leaves only has been preserved. It appears to be printed with Chepman and Myllar's peculiar types, and is supposed to be about 1520 A.D. It is translated

from the Latin of Robert Blair, written in the beginning of the 14th century (*Hazlitt's Handbook*). Many later editions exist. The best is from the unique MS in the Advocates' Library, dated 1488, edited by Dr. Jamieson in 1820, and reprinted at Glasgow in 1869, with all its mistakes. The translator is said to have been Blind Harry the Minstrel, about 1470.]

(11) The bruce.

[By Chaucer's contemporary, John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who died in 1395 or 1396. No printed edition before about 1570 is now known. Only 2 MSS of the poem are known, of which the best, which has lost its first third, is in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, and is dated 1487. The inferior MS is in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, is complete, is dated 1489, was edited by Dr. Jamieson in 1820, and reprinted at Glasgow, with all its mistakes, in 1869. The Rev. W. W. Skeat is now re-editing the work from both MSS and the old printed editions for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series: Part I. was publisht in 1870. Mr. Cosmo Innes made a dreadful mess of the text, which he symmetrized, in his edition for the Spalding Club, 1856. Mr. Henry Bradshaw, University Librarian at Cambridge, has found two MSS containing parts of a verse Troy Book by Barbour, and another very long MS of Saints' Lives in verse, also by Barbour.]

(12) Ypomedon.

['The Life of Ipomydon.' Colophon: 'Enprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the Sonne by Wynkyn de Worde;' no date, 4to, but with "L'enuoye of Robert C[opland] the prynter." Only one incomplete copy known. This romance was printed by Weber in his *Metrical Romances*, 1810, vol. ii. p. 279, from the Harl. MS. 2252; and the story of it is told in Ellis's *Early English Metr. Rom.* p. 505 etc., ed. Bohn. "The hero of this romance is a Norman, though his name be derived from the Theban war. He is son of Ermones, King of Apulia, and, by his courtesy and skill in hunting, gains the affections of the heiress of Calabria, whom he visits in disguise." (*Leyden*, p. 240.)]

(13) The tail of the thre futtit dog of norrouay.

[Robert Chambers gives the story of 'The Black Bull of Norroway' in his *Popular Rhymes*, p. 95–99, and that of the similar 'Red Bull of Norroway' at p. 99–101.]

(14) The tayl quhou Hercules sleu the serpent hidra that hed vij heydis.

[This was doubtless a short story from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ix. 70.

The earliest known English Romance on Hercules is late: "The History of the Life and Glorious Actions of the mighty Hercules of Greece, his encountering and overthrowing serpents, lions, monsters, giants, tyrants, and powerful armies; his taking of cities, towns, kings, and kingdoms, etc. With many rare and extraordinary adventures and exploits, wonderful and amazing. Also the manner of his unfortunate death: being the most excellent of histories. Printed for S. Bates at the Sun and Bible in Pye-Corner." Small 4to, no date. One copy is among Malone's books in the Bodleian, and another was sold at Mr. Corser's second sale (*Catalogue*, p. 55), where was also sold "Hercules. Sensuyt les proesses et vaillances du preux et vaillant Hercules. Bk. l., small 4to. Paris, par Alain Lotrian. s.d."]

(15) The tail quhou the kyng of est mure land mareit the kyngis dochtir of vest mure land.

[Can this be "King Estmere" in *Percy's Reliques?* Percy tore this

ballad out of his Folio Manuscript—confound him for it!—so that we cannot tell how badly he cookt the copy he has left us. See the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. ii, p. 200, note 1; p. 600–7.]

(16) Skail gillenderson, the kyngis sone of skellye.
[Some Scandinavian legend.]

(17) The tayl of the four sonnis of aymon.
[Capt. Cox, III, p. xix, above.]

(18) The tayl of the brig of the mantribil.
[No doubt a lost English Charlemagne romance, for in Barbour's Bruce, it is said that Charlemagne

"... wan *Mantrybill*, and passed Flagot."
Ed. Pinkerton, i, 81 (*Leyden*, p. 237).]

(19) The tail of syr euan, arthours knycht.
[No separate printed tale of Sir Ywain is known except the poem of 'Ywaine and Gawin,' printed by Ritson in his *Metrical Romances* from the Cotton MS. Galba E ix. Leyden says, p. 256, "in Peringskiold's list of Scandic MSS in the Royal library of Stockholm, besides a metrical history of king Arthur, which records his league with Charlemagne, the following titles occur: *Sagan af Ivent, Eingland Kappe;*—the history of Ewain, Arthurs best beloved knight in England, containing his combats with the Giants and Blacks. This is undoubtedly the romance of Ewain mentioned in the *Complaynt.*—*Sagan af Herra Bewus*, the Romance of Sir Bevis."]

(20) Rauf coll$_{\text{ȝ}}$ear.
[Dunbar, in his address 'To the King,' and Gawin Douglas, in his 'Palice of Honour,' mention this poem of Ralph the Collier, though no printed edition of it is known before that 'Imprentit at Sanct Androis by Robert Lekpreuik, anno 1572,' which Mr. David Laing reprinted in his *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*, 1822: "Heire beginnis the taill of Rauf Coll$_{\text{ȝ}}$ear, how he harbreit King Charlis." See Irving's *History of Scotish Poetry*, p. 88–92. A capital poem it is, that ought to be known better in England. It is the Scotch parallel of *John the Reve* in the Percy Folio, (with which Dunbar and Douglas couple it,) and is told in humourous alliterative stanzas; only, the Collier treated Charlemagne more roughly than the Reve treated Edward Longshanks, for he

. . hit him vnder the eir with his richt hand
Quhill he stakkerit thair-with-all
Half the breid of the hall.

Mr. Laing has kept us waiting a most tantalizingly long time for a new edition of his excellent *Select Remains*. The volume contains several English pieces.]

(21) The seige of millan.
[Milan has seen many a siege since, at the end of the third century, Maximianus surrounded it with walls. Attila devastated it; so did the Goths in 539 A.D. under Vitiges. Frederic Barbarossa and his Germans took it by assault, and razed it to the ground in 1162. In the petty wars of the Italian cities in the 13th and later centuries, Milan took a prominent part. But I suppose the *Complaynt* tale to refer to the great Barbarossa siege.]

(22) Gauen and gollogras.
[Cp. Capt. Cox's *Syr Gawyn*, XII, p. xxxiv above.]

(23) Lancelot du lac.
[No early printed English *Lancelot* is known; and we have only one MS, a Scotch one at Cambridge, in the University Library, carelessly printed by Mr. Stevenson for the Maitland Club, 1839 (*Lancelot of the Laik*), and carefully edited for the Early English Text Society, 1865, by the Rev. W. W. Skeat. It is short, and contains only a small part of the French *Lancelot*.]

(24) Arthour knycht, he raid on nycht,
vitht gyltin spur and candil lycht.
[Leyden says, p. 229, "The romance, of which these lines seem to have formed the introduction, is unknown; but I have often heard them repeated in a nursery tale, of which I only recollect the following ridiculous verses:

Chick my naggie, chick my naggie!
How mony miles to Aberdeagie?
'Tis eight, and eight, and other eight;
We'll no win there wi' candle light."

I don't believe in Leyden's supposed "romance." It was probably a ballad.]

(25) The tail of floremond of albanye, that sleu the dragon be the see.
[This Tale is lost. Leyden says (p. 229) that the name of the hero is mentioned in the romance of *Roswall and Lilian* (Edinb. 1663, blk. lr., 846 lines; and Laing's *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826):—

Because that I love you so well,
Let your name be Sir Lion dale,
Or great *Florent of Albanie*,
My heart, if ye bear love to me;
Or call you Lancelot du Lake,
For your dearest true-love's sake;
Call you the Knight of arm[e]s green[1],
For the love of your Lady sheen.]

(26) The tail of syr valtir, the bald leslye.
[Leyden says (p. 230) "This seems to have been a romance of the Crusades. Sir Walter Lesly accompanied his brother Norman to the East, in the Venetian expedition, to assist Peter, king of Cyprus; where, according to Fordun (*Scotichronicon*, lib. xvi, cap. 15) 'cœperunt civitatem Alexandrinam tempore ultimi regis David.' After the death of his brother he became Earl of Ross, and Duke of Leygaroch in France. The romance," if one ever existed, is lost.]

(27) The tail of the pure tynt.
["Probably the groundwork of the Fairy tale of 'the pure tint Rashy-coat' a common nursery tale." *Leyden*, p. 236. The tale of 'Rashie-Coat (*Fife*)' is told in R. Chambers's *Popular Rhymes*, 1870, p. 66–8, and an inferior version follows it. It is "the Scottish edition of the tale of *Cinderella*."]

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[1] Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (Roxb. Club, and E. E. Text Soc.).

(28) Claryades and maliades.

[No printed copy is known earlier than 1830, when Dr. David Irving edited the romance of *Clariodus* from an imperfect MS of about 1550 A.D, for Mr. Edward Piper's present to the Maitland Club. The romance is earlier than its MS, and is translated from a French prose original, of which there was once an English translation, made before the Scotch one. The story is of England:—how, after the days of King Arthur, the young knight Clariodus, son of the Earl of Esture, or the Asturias, wins and weds the lovely lady Meliades, daughter and heiress of Philipon, king of England; and how, after their marriage (at p. 304) feastings, adventures, tourneys, journeys to Castalie, Ireland &c go on, till the text ends, imperfectly, at p. 376 of the printed edition.]

(29) Arthour of litil bertangȝe.

[This is the book reprinted in 4to by Utterson in 1814 as "Arthur of Brytayn. The hystory[1] of the moost[2] noble and valyaunt knyght Arthur of lytell brytayne, translated out of frensshe in to englushe[3] by the noble Johan Bourghcher knyght lorde Barners, newly Imprynted:" no date, black letter, folio, 179 leaves. (Collier, *Bibl. Cat.* i. 63). Colophon: "Here endeth the hystory of Arthur of lytell Brytayne. Imprynted at London in Powles churche yeard at the sygne of the Cocke by Roberte Redborne." Only 2 perfect copies exist, at Althorp and Bridgewater House; and one imperfect copy.]

(30) Robene hude and litil ihone.

[See Capt. Cox's *Robin Hood*, XXII, p. li, above. It's the same book, no doubt.]

(31) The meruellis of mandieueil.

[We know 3 editions before 1548 of this most amusing book of travels and legends, 1. Wynkyn de Worde's in 1499; 2. at his sign of the Sun in 1503; 3. Pynson's, without date. 1. "Here Begynneth a lytell treatyse or booke named Johan Mandeuyll Knyght born in Englonde in the towne of saynt Albone and speketh of the wayes of the holy londe toward Jherrusalem, and of marueyles of Ynde and of other dyuerse countrees." Colophon. "Here endeth the boke of Johan Maundevyll knyght, of the wayes towarde Jerusalem, & of the meruayles of Ynde & of other dyuerse countrees. Emprynted at Westmynster by Wynken de Worde. Anno domini M. CCCC. LXXXXIX." 8vo. An edition was publisht in 1725 from the Cotton MS, Titus C. xvi,—incorrectly, I expect —and was reprinted in 1839 and 1869, with an Introduction by Mr. Halliwell, and some very quaint woodcuts from the MS and the old printed editions. Sir John Mandeville left England for Jerusalem etc. in 1322, and wrote his Travels in 1356, thirty-four years after he started. Later on, the work was turned into a chap-book: "The Foreign Travels of Sir John Mandeville. Containing, An Account of remote Kingdoms, Countries, Rivers, Castles, &c. Together with a Description of Giants, Pigmies, and various other People of odd Deformities; as also their Laws, Customs, and Manners. Likewise enchanted Wildernesses, Dragons, Griffins, and many more wonderful Beasts of Prey, &c &c &c." (With 7 woodcuts.) 'Printed and Sold in Aldermary Church-Yard, London. (In Mr. Corser's sale.)]

(32) (33) The tayl of the ȝong tamlene, and of the bald braband.

[Leyden identifies Tamlene with the later ballad of The Young Tamlane in Scott's Minstrelsy, A.D. 1802, (p. 474–480 of A. Murray's reprint, 1869), a few verses of which appeared in Herd's Scottish Songs, 1776,

[1] Mystory—*Hazlitt's Handbook.* [2] moast—*Hazlitt.* [3] englishe—*Hazlitt.*

i. 159 (ed. 1869), as 'Kertouhe, or the Fairy Court,' and Johnson's Museum. (See p. clxiv below.) He therefore makes The Bald Braband a separate romance of French or Norman origin. Mr. J. A. H. Murray does so too, notwithstanding the author's singular "tayl," which would lead us to suppose that the two heroes belonged to one story. See some doggrel verses on 'Tam o' the Linn' in R. Chambers's *Popular Rhymes*, ed. 1870, p. 33, and p. cxxvii above.]

(34) The ryng[1] of the roy Robert.

[In Maokenzie's Lives, vol. i, and Pinkerton's list of the poems in the Folio Maitland MS, this poem is ascribed to Deine David Steill. It begins "In to the ring of the roy Robert." A modernized copy was issued in 1700 under the title of "Robert the III, king of Scotland, his Answer to a Summonds sent by Henry the IV. of England to do homage for the Crown of Scotland," is [re]printed in Watson's Collection of Scotish poems, pt. 3, which begins "Dureing the reigne of the Royal Robert." *Leyden*, p. 231. It is also reprinted 'in two different publications of Mr. Laing, *Fugitive Scotish Poetry*, and *Early Metrical Tales*. It contains a magnanimous and indignant answer, supposed to have been returned by Robert the Third, when Henry the Fourth of England summoned him to do homage for his kingdom. The author's patriotism may be more safely commended than his poetry, which is of a very inferior order.' *Irving's Hist. of Scotish Poetry*, p. 201, ed. 1861.]

(35) Syr egeir and syr gryme.

[Of this verse Romance no printed copy is known earlier than 1687. It belongs to Mr. David Laing, who reprinted the 2nd edition known, that of 1711, in his *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826. By far the best copy[2] is in Bp. Percy's Folio MS, and is printed in the *Ballads and Romances* of it, i. 354–400, in 1474 lines. Its "subject is the true and tried friendship of Sir Eger and Sir Grime. It sings how a true knight (Sir Grime) stood faithfully by his friend when misfortune overtook him, and fought his battle, and won it, and was rewarded with the same happiness which he had so nobly striven to secure for his friend—success in love." In 1497, the sum of nine shillings was paid to "twa fithelaris that sang *Gray Steil* to the King." See Mr. D. Laing's Introduction, and Mr. Hales's in the Percy Folio *Bal. and Rom.* Gray Steel was the knight who overcame Sir

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[1] reign.

[2] However, the lines praised so strongly by Prof. Lowell in his charming essay in *My Study Windows*, p. 256–7, are not in the Percy-Folio copy. The author of the inimitable *Biglow Papers* says: "One more passage occurs to me, almost incomparable in its simple straight-forward force, and choice of the right words:—

> "Sir Graysteel to his death thus thraws,
> He welters, and the grass updraws. . . . .
> A little while then lay he still,
> (Friends that saw him, liked full ill,)
> *And bled into his armour bright.*"

The last line, for suggestive reticence, almost deserves to be put beside the famous

> "Quel giorno più non vi leggemmo avante"

of the great master of laconic narration [Dante]. In the same poem"—*Sir Eger and Sir Grime* in the Percy Folio i. 354. The passage quoted is from Ellis—"the growing love of the lady, in its maidenliness of unconscious betrayal, is touched with a delicacy and tact as surprising as they are delightful."

Eger, and who cut off the right little-finger of every knight he vanquisht. But Grime slew him for Eger's sake.]

(36) Beuis of southamtonn.
[See Captain Cox's IV, p. xxii above.]

(37) The goldin targe.
[This is a poem of Dunbar's, first printed on 6 leaves by Walter Chepman and Andro Millar at Edinburgh in 1508, though the copy in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, has no place or date on it. It is reprinted in Mr. David Laing's edition of Dunbar's Works 1834 (with a Supplement 1865), i. 11, and "the object of this poem is to demonstrate the general ascendency of love over reason: the golden terge, or the shield of reason, is found an insufficient protection against the assaults of the train of love." *Irving's Hist. of Scotish Poetry*, p. 235, ed. 1861.]

(38) The paleis of honour.
[No copy of this is known so early as 1548–9, though a Scotch printer's copy must have existed earlier. As William Copland was at the Rose Garland in 1548, his undated edition might have been printed in the first year of Mary's reign: "The Palis of Honoure composed by Gawyne Dowglas, Byshope of Dunkyll. Imprinted at London in flet-stret, at the sygne of the Rose garland by wyllyam Copland. God saue Quene Marye," 4to, black letter, 40 leaves. Henrie Charteris's edition of 1579 was reprinted for the Bannatyne Club in 1827, 4to. The poem, which is the longest of Douglas's original works, seems to have been written in 1501, and describes the author's dream of all the worthies of antiquity down to nearly his own day,—heathen gods and goddesses, as well as Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate,—journeying to the Palace of Honour. This he describes, and the lake, wherein those who fail to seek it, fall. The poem is an odd mixture of ancient and modern: Calliope expounds the scheme of human redemption. See *Irving*, p. 269–277, for an outline of it.]

(39) The tayl quhou acteon vas transformit in ane hart, and syne slane be his auen doggis.
[Another tale from Ovid's Metamorphoses, iii. 155 etc.]

(40) The tayl of Pirramus and tesbe.
[No doubt a short tale from some lost translation of Ovid (*Met.* iv, 55–165). Golding's translation was not publisht till 1567. Mr. Halliwell prints the Pyramus story from it in his *Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1841, p. 12–16. The first notice that we have of a book on this subject is in an entry in 1562–3 in the Stationers' Register A, leaf 92 (*Collier*, i. 79):—

W greffethe **Recevyd** of Wylliam greffeth for his lycense for pryntinge of a boke intituled Perymus and Thesbye } iiij^{d}

No copy of the book is known, nor any of the later edition by Hacket. Mr. Collier says 'The History of Pyramus and Thisbie, truly translated,' is contained in the 'Gorgeous Gallery of gallant Inventions,' 1578; and in the 'Handfull of Pleasant Delights,' 1584, is 'a new Sonet of Pyramus and Thisbie,' subscribed J. Tomson. (*Stat. Reg.* i. 80.)

(41) The tail of the amours of leander and hero.
[The only notice we have of the earliest and otherwise unknown translation of the work of Musæus the Grammarian, *De Amore Herois et Leandri*, is a marginal note in Abraham Fleming's translation of Virgil's Georgics, 1589, 4to: "The poet alludeth to the historie of Leander and Hero,

written by Musæus, and Englished by me a dozen yeares ago [1577], and in print." J. P. Collier, in *Notes and Queries*, Dec. 8, 1849, p. 84–5. This 'tayl' of the *Complaynt* before 1548 may—like many others in the list—have been a broadside. Ovid mentions the story, *Her.* xviii. 19.]

(42) The tail quhou Iupiter transformit his deir loue yo in ane cou.

[More Ovid: Metamorphoses, bk. i.]

(43) The tail quhou that iason van the goldin fleice.

[This may be 'A Boke of the hoole Lyf of Jason' printed by Caxton about 1477, consisting of 148 leaves, and reprinted in 1492, by Gerard Leeu of Antwerp, with cuts, 'The veray trew History of the valiaunt Knight Jason;' but was probably only a short Tale from the 7th book of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Caxton's edition is translated from Raoul Le Fevre's French original.]

(44) Opheus, kyng of portingal.

[This cannot be the romanee of Orfeo and Heurodis in the Affleck MS, printed in Mr. D. Laing's *Select Remains*, 1822, in which Orfeo is a king in England, has the city of Traciens or Winchester, and recovers Heurodis who has been carried off by the King of the Fairies. Nor can it be Henryson's poem printed by W. Chepman and A. Millar in 1508:—"Heire begynnis the traitie of Orpheus kyng, and how he yeid to hewyn and to hel to seik his quene: And ane other ballad in the lattir end;—" and reprinted in Mr. David Laing's edition of Henryson's Works, 1865. Henryson rightly makes his Orpheus, king of Thrace. Perchance some Middle-age writer altered Thraee to Portugal. Geography was 'of no consequenee' with the story-tellers of those days.]

(45) The tayl of the goldin appil.

[That of Eris, inscribed 'to the fairest,' thrown among the Gods at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, whenee sprang the dispute between Juno, Minerva, and Venus, its decision by Paris, the rape of Helen, and the fall of Troy, that central romance of the Middle-ages. Plenty of stories of it,—long to shorten, short to translate,—were there to serve as the original of the *Complaynt* 'tayl.']

(46) The tail of the thre veird systirs.

['Clotho, the spinning fate; Lachesis, the one who assigns to man his fate; and Atropos, the fate that cannot be avoided.' Ovid, *Met.* xv. 781, 808 etc.]

(47) The tayl quhou that dedalus maid the laborynth to keip the monster minotaurus.

[Ovid, *Met.* viii.]

(48) The tail quhou kyng midas gat tua asse luggis on his hede, be cause of his auereis.

[Another story from Ovid, book xi of the Metamorphoses. There is a Ballad on the same subject among the broadsides of the Society of Antiquaries, written by T. Hedley, and imprinted at London, by Hary Sutton, dwellyng in Poules Churchyard, and reprinted in Mr. Halliwell's *Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream*, p. 18–19. Sutton printed and publisht from 1557 to 1575.]

¶ Quhen thir scheiphyrdis hed tald al thyr pleysand storeis, than thay and ther vyuis began to sing sueit melodius sangis of natural music of the antiquite, the foure marmadyns that sang

quhen thetis vas mareit on month pillio*n*, thai sang nocht sa sueit as did thir scheiphyrdis, quhilkis ar callit to name, parthenopie, leucolia, illigeatempora, the feyrd callit legia, for thir scheiphirdis excedit al thir foure marmadyns in melodius music, i*n* gude accordis and reportis of dyapason prolations, and dyatesseron. the musician amphion quhilk sa*n*g sa dulce, quhil that the stanis mouit, and alse the scheip and nolt, and the foulis of the ayr, pronuncit there bestial voce to sing vitht hym. zit nochtheles his ermoni*us* sa*n*g prefferrit nocht the sueit sangis of thir foir-said scheiphirdis. Nou i vil reherse sum of the sueit sangis that i herd amang the*m* as eftir follouis. in the fyrst,

(49) Pastance vitht gude companye.

[English. Written by Henry VIII. Facsimiled, with the tune, for Mr. Wm. Chappell, in *Archæologia*, xli. 372, from a MS that once belonged to Henry VIII, and now belongs to a Mrs. Lamb. The song was also printed by Dr. Rimbault in his *Little Book*, p. 37, and Mr. Chappell in his *Popular Music*, from the Additional MS 5665 in the British Museum, which was once Joseph Ritson's. It is there called "The Kyngis Balade." Here it is from Mrs. Lamb's MS, pages 24, 25, as facsimiled in *Archæologia*, vol. xli, Pl. xvi, p. 372; but in the MS every ll has a line across its top.

The kynge. H. viij.

(1)

Pastyme w*ith* good *com*panye
I loue, & shall vntyll I dye;—
gruche who lust, but none denye,
so god be plesyd, *th*us leue wyll I.
for my pasta*n*ce
hu*n*t, syng, & dau*n*ce,
my hart is sett!
all goodly sport,
for my co*m*fort,
who shall me let?

(2)

youthe must haue su*m* daliance,
off good or yll, su*m* pastance;
Company me thynk*es* then best,
all thought*es* & fansys to deiest;
ffor Idillnes
is cheff mastres
of vices all;
then who can say
but mirth and play
is best of all?

(3)

Company w*ith* honeste
is vertu, vices to flee;
Company is good & ill,
but eu*er*y man hath hys fre wyll;
the best ensew,
the worst eschew,
my mynde shalbe;
vertu to vse,
vice to refuce;
thus shall I vse me.

Bishop Latimer, says Mr. Chappell, wished to instil into Edward VI a higher view of what "Pastyme with good Company" should be than he would get from his father's Ballad, and on that account in his Second Sermon before the young king,—preacht on Deut. xxii. 18, "And it shall be when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of *that whieh is* before the priests the Levites: And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God," etc.,—says

"And when the kyng is sette in the seate of hys Kyngedome, what shal he do? shal he daunce, and dally, banket? hauke and hunte? No forsothe syr. For as God set an order in the Kyngs stable as I tolde you in my last Sermon, so wyll he appoynte what pastyme a Kynge shall

haue. What must he do then? He muste be a studient. He must wryte Goddes boke hym selfe. Not thynkynge bycause he is a kynge, he hath lycence to do what he wyl, as these worldlye flatterers are wont to say. Yea, trouble not your selfe sir, ye mai hauke and hunt, and take youre pleasure. As for the guydinge of your kyngdome and people, let vs alone wyth it.

"These flattering clawbackes are originall rotes of all mischyue, and yet a Kynge maye take hys pastyme in haukinge or huntynge or such lyke pleasures. But he must vse them for recreation when he is wery of waighty affayres, that he mai returne to them the more lustye. and this is called *pastime with good companye.*" (Ed. Arber, p. 64.)

And again, "So your grace must learne howe to do of Salomon. Ye must make your petition, now study, nowe praye. They must be yoked togither, and thys is called '*pastime wyth good company.*'" (*Ib.* p. 70.)]

(50) The breir byndis me soir.

(51) Stil vndir the leyuis grene.

[See (96). In the Maitland MS, and printed by Pinkerton in his Maitland Poems, p. 205. In his notes, p. 424, Pinkerton says "This piece, for the age it was written, is almost miraculous. The tender pathos is finely recommended by an excellent cadence. An age that produced this, might produce almost any perfection in poetry." I wonder what the worthy editor's notion of 'quite miraculous' was, though the 'sang' is a good one. Mr. Lumby has kindly read this print with the MS; but the initial 'y' is printed 'th.'

THE MURNING MAIDIN.

(1)

Still under the levis grene,
This hinder day I went alone;
I hard ane may fair mwrne and meyne;
To the KING OF LUIF scho maid hir mone.
Scho sychit sely soir;
Said 'LORD, I luif thi loir.
Mair wo dreit never woman one.
O langsum lyfe, and thow war gone,
Than suld I mwrne no moir!'

(2)

As rid gold-wyir schynit hir hair;
And all in grene, the may scho glaid.
Ane bent bow in hir hand scho bair;
Undir hir belt war arrowis braid.
I followit on that fre,
That semelie wes to se.
Withe still mwrning hir mone scho maid.
That bird undir a bank scho baid,
And lenit hir to ane tre.

(3)

Wanweird, scho said: "Quhat have I wrocht,
"That on me kytht hes all this cair?
Trew lufe, so deir I have the bocht!—
Certis, so sall I do na mair.
Sen that I go begyld
With ane that faythe has syld.—
That gars me oftsyis syis[1] full sair;
And walk among the holtis hair,
Within the woddis wyld.

(4)

"This grit disese for luif I dre—
Thair is no toung can tell the wo!—
I luif the lufe that luifis not me;
I may not mend, but mwrning mo.
Quhill God send sum remeid,
Throw destany, or deid.
I am his freind, and he my fo.
My sweit, allace! quhy dois he so?
I wrocht him never na feid!

(5)

"Withoutin feyid I wes his freind
In word and wark. Grit God it wait!
Quhair he wes placit, thair list I leynd,
Doand him service ayr and lait.
He kepand eftir syne
Till his honour and myne.

[1] for *sich*, sigh.

Bot now he gais ane uther gait,
And hes no e to my estait;
Quhilk dois me all this pyne.

(6)

"It dois me pyne that I may prufe,
That maks me thus murning mo.
My lufe, he luifis ane uther lufe!
Allace, sweithart! Quhy dois he so?
Quhy sould he me forsaik?
Have mercye on his maik!
Thairfoir my hart will birst in two.
And thus, walking with da and ro,
My leif now heir I taik."

(7)

Than wepit scho, lustie in weyd;
And on her wayis can scho went.
In hy eftir that heynd I ȝeyd,
And in my armes could hir hent,
And said "Fayr lady, at this tyd,
With leif ye man abyde,
And tell me quho yow hidder sent,
Or quhy ye beir your bow so bent
To sla our deir of pryd?

(8)

"In waithman weyd sen I yow find
In this wod walkand your alone,
Your mylk-qhyt handis we sall bind
Quhill that the blude birst fra the bone.
Chargeand yow to prwsoun,
To the king's deip dwngeoun.
Thai may ken, be your fedderit flane,
Ye have mony beistis bane
Upon thir bentis broun."

(9)

That fre answerit with fayr afeir,
And said, "Schir, mercy, for your mycht!
Thus man I bow and arrowis beir,
Becaus I am ane baneist wycht;
So will I be full lang.
For Godis luif lat me gang;
And heir to yow my treuth I plycht,
That I sall, nowder day nor nycht,
No wyld beist wait with wrang.

(10)

"Thocht I walk in this forrest fre,
Withe bow, and eik with fedderit flane,
It is weill mair than dayis thre,
And meit or drynk yit saw I nane.
Thocht I had never sic neid
My selffe to wyn my breid,
Your deir may walk, schir, thair alane.
Yet wes I nevir na beistis bane;
I may not se thame bleid.

(11)

"Sen that I never did yow ill,
It wer no skill ye did me skaith.
Your deir may walk quhairevir thai will;
I wyn my meit with na sic waithe.
I do bot litill wrang,
Bot gif I flowris fang.
Giff that ye trow not in my aythe,
Tak heir my bow and arrowis baythe,
And lat my awin selffe gang.

(12)

"I say your bow and arrowis bricht!—
I bid not have thame, be Sanct Bryd.
Bot ye man rest with me all nycht,
All nakit sleipand be my syd."
"I will not do that syn!"
"Leif yow this warld to wyn!
Ye ar so haill of hew and hyd,
Luif hes me fangit into this tyd;
I may not fra yow twyn."

(13) [p. 203.]

Than lukit scho to me, and lewch;
And said "Sic lufe I rid yow layne.
Albeit ye mak it never sa tewch,
To me your labour is in vane.
Wer I out of your sycht
The space of halfe a nycht,
Suppois ye saw me never agane—
Luif hes yow streinyeit with litle pane,
Thairto my treuthe I plycht."

(14)

I said, "My sweit, forsuythe I sall
For ever luif yow, and no mo.
Thocht utheris luif, and leif, with all,
Maist certanlie I do not so.
I do yow trew luif hecht,
Be all the bewis bricht!
Ye ar so fair! be not my fo!
Ye sall have syn, and ye me slo
Thus throw ane suddan sycht."

(15)

"That I yow sla, that God forscheild!
Quhat have I done, or said, yow till?
I wes not wont wappynis to weild;
Bot am ane woman, gif ye will,
That suirlie feiris yow,
And ye not me, I trow.
For, gude schir, tak in none ill,
Sall never berne gar breif the bill
At bidding me to bow.

(16) [p. 210.]

"Into this wode ay walk I sall,
Ledand my lyfe as woful wycht:
Heir I forsaik bayth bour and hall,
And all thir bigings that are brycht!
My bed is maid full cauld,
With beistis bryme and bauld.
That garris me say, bayth day and nycht,
Allace that ever the toung sould hecht
That hart thocht not to hauld!"

(17)

Thir words out throw my hairt so went,
That neir I wepit for hir wo;
But thairto wald I not consent,
And said that it sould not be so.
Into my armes swythe
Embrasit I that blythe,
Sayand, "Sweit hart! of harmes ho!
Found sall I never this forrest fro,
Quhill ye me confort kyth."

(18)

Than knelit I befoir that cleir;
And meiklie could hir mercye craiff
That semlie than, with sobir chier,
Me of hir gudlynes forgaif.
It wes no neid I-wys,
To bid ws uther kys.
Thair mycht no hairtis mair joy resaif,
Nor uther could of uther haif:
Thus brocht wer we to blys.
(MS. in Pepysian Libr. Cambr.)]

(52) Cou thou me the raschis grene.

[Appendix to the Royal MSS, 58 (No. 26 in the 'Catalogue of the Manuscript Music in the British Museum, 1842, p. 10). The *Fayrfax MS.* leaf 2. Printed in Ritson's *Ancient Songs*, vol. i, p. lxxv, with the music.

c Olle to me the Rysshys grene. Colle to me.
Colle to me the Rysshes grene. Colle to me.

ffor my pastyme, vpon a day,
I walkyde a-lone ryght secretly;
in A mornynge of lusty may,
me to Reioyce I dyd A-plye.
wher I saw one in gret dystresse
Complaynynge hym thus pytuously:
"Alas!" he sayde, "for my mastres,
I well perseyue that I shall dye.
"wythout that thus she of hure grace,
to pety she wyll some what reuert,
I haue most cause to say A-las!
ffor hyt ys she that hath my hart,
"Soo to contynew whyle my lyff endure,
though I fore hure sholde suffre dethe;
She hath my hart wyth owt Recure,
And euer shall, durynge my brethe."

On the back of leaf 12 is the same burden—

"Coll to me the russhes grene. Coll to me.
Coll to me the russhes grene. Coll to me."

set to a different tune.]

(53) Allace, i vyit zour tua fayr ene![1]

(54) Gode zou, gude day, vil boy.

(55) Lady, help zour presoneir[1].

(56) Kyng villzamis note.

(57) The laug nounenou [= nonny no].

(58) The cheapel valk.

(59) Faytht is there none.

(60) Skald abellis nou.

(61) The abirdenis nou.

(62) Brume brume on hil.
[*English.* See Capt. Cox, LIII, p. cxxviii above, and *Pop. Mus.* p. 459.]

(63) Allone i veip in grit distres.
[Godlified in *The Gude and Godlie Ballates*, p. 129, ed. D. Laing, 1868.]

(64) Trolee lolee, lemmen dou.
[Cp. Capt. Cox's *Troly lo*, LIV, p. cxxix.]

(65) Bille, vil thou cum by a lute,
and belt the in Sanct Francis cord ?
[In Constable's MS. Cantus the following lines [probably] of this song are introduced into a medley:

Bille, will ye cum by a lute,
And tuich it with your pin ? trow low! (*Leyden*, p. 279.)]

(66) The frog cam to the myl dur.
[Pinkerton, in his *Select Ballads*, ii. 33, says that "The froggie came to the mill door" was sung on the Edinburgh stage shortly before 1784. Leyden, p. 279, gives a few lines of another nursery song on the frog (or cat) and mouse. The earliest English notice of a Frog-song that we have is the entry on the Stationers' Register of a license to Edward White on 21 November 1580 of four ballads, of which the first is "A moste strange weddinge of the frogge and the mouse" (*Collier's Stat. Reg.* ii. 132). Dr. Rimbault has printed in his *Little Book*, p. 87-94, three versions of the wedding of the Frog and Mouse,—one Scotch, from Mr. C. K. Sharpe's *Ballad Book* 1826,—and mentions another old "Frogge Song" in Halliwell's *Nursery Rhymes*, ed. 1843, p. 87, and a parody upon the same in Tom d'Urfey's *Pills to purge Melancholy*, 1719, vol. i. p. 14.]

(67) The sang of gilquhiskar.

(68) Rycht soirly musing in my mynde.
[Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 54, ed. D. Laing, 1868.]

(69) God sen the duc hed byddin in France,
And delaubaute hed neuyr cum hame.
[This song is not known; it must have been on 'the Chevalier de la Beauté,' who was left as Pro-regent in Scotland when John Duke of Albany retired to France, in the minority of James V, and who was murdered in 1515.' *Leyden*, p. 276. See in Dunbar's *Works*, ed. *Laing*, i. 251 "Ane Orisoun quhen the Governour past into France."]

[1] Mr. David Laing thinks, from these first lines, that their songs are likely to have been Alexander Scott's. *Al. Scott's Poems*, p. x.

(70) Al musing of meruellis, amys hef i gone.
[A verse of this song occurs in Constable's MS. Cantus:

"All musing of mervells in the mid morne,
Through a slunk in a slaid, amisse have I gone;
I heard a song me beside, that reft from me my sprite,
But through my dream as I dreamed, this was the effect."
Leyden, p. 279.]

(71) Mastres fayr, ze vil forfayr.

(72) O lusty maye, vitht flora quene.
["This beautiful song was printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508, and also in Forbes's Aberdeen Cantus [thence reprinted by Ritson, *Scotish Songs*, Hist. Essay, p. xli]: a copy with several variations, is preserved in the Bannatyne MS." *Leyden*, p. 279. The latter, not modernized as in Forbes, whose second song it is, is printed at the end of Alexander Scott's *Poems*, p. 97–9, ed. D. Laing.

(1)

"O lusty May *with* Flora quene,
The balmy dropis frome Phebus shene,
Preluciand bemes be-foir the day, befoir the day,
By thé Diana growis grene,
Throwch glaidnes of this lusty May.

(2)

Than Esperus, that is so bricht
Till wofull hairtis, castis his ly*ch*t
With bankis that blumes (on euery bray)—bis;
And schuris ar sched furt*h* of þat sicht
Thruch glaidnes of this lusty May.

(3)

Birdis on bewis of every birth,
Reiosing nottis makand thair mirth,
Ry*ch*t pleasandly vpoun the spray
With fllurissingis, our feild & firth,
Thruch 'glaidnes of this lusty May.'

(4)

All luvaris þat ar in eair,
To thair ladeis than do repair
In fresch mornyngis (befoir the day),
And ar in mirth ay mair & mair
Thruch glaidnes of this lusty May.

Bann. MS. fol.

"The following stanza, which occurs not in the Manuscript is added from the Aberdeen Cantus.

Of everie moneth in the yeir
To mirthfull May thair is no peir,
Hir glistrine garments ar so gay,
You lovaris all mak merie cheir,
Thruch glaidness of this lustie May."]

(73) O myne hart, hay, this is my sang.
[Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 121.]

(74) The battel of the hayrlau[1].
[The battle was fought in 1411 by the Earl of Mar and his force against the plundering Donald of the Isles with an army of 10,000 men. "But the earliest edition [of the ballad] that can be traced was published by Ramsay: and all the ancient poetry which passed through his hands was exposed to the most unwarrantable alterations . . The poem consists of 248 lines . . is a dry and circumstantial narrative, with little or no em-

[1] See the Dance Tune—*The Battel of Harloe* in the British Museum Addit. MS. 10,444, leaf 4 bk. No. 8.

bellishment, and can only be considered as valuable in the belief of its being ancient. Of the author's historical vein a sufficient estimate may be formed from the subsequent" stanza:

> Gude Sir Alexander Irving,
> The much renownit laird of Drum,
> Nane in his days was bettir sene,
> Quhen they war semblit, all and sum;
> To praise him we sould not be dumm,
> For valour, witt, and worthyness.
> To end his days he ther did cum,
> Quhois ransom is remeidyless."
>
> *Irving's Hist. of Scottish Poetry*, p. 162–3.

A copy of this ballad dated 1668 was in the collection of Mr. Robert Mylne, the Collector. The ballad is printed in Allan Ramsay's *Evergreen* 1724, and Laing's *Early Metrical Tales*, 1826, (*Hazlitt's Handbook*, p. 32, col. 2.) in "Two old Historical Scots Poems giving an account of the Battles of Harlaw and the Reid-Squair," Glasgow 1748, &c &c.

From *Motherwell's Minstrelsy Ancient and Modern* (Glasgow 1827) p. lxii note, Mr. Murray sends me the following: "The Battle of Hairlaw.—Antiquaries have differed in opinion regarding the age of this composition; but the best informed have agreed in looking upon it as of coeval production, or nearly so, with the historical event on which it is founded; and in this opinion the present writer entirely coincides. No edition prior to Ramsay's time has been preserved, though it was printed in 1668 as we are informed by Mr. Laing in his Early Metrical Tales, an edition of that date having been in the curious library of old Robert Mylne. In the Complaynt of Scotland 1549, this ballad is mentioned. In the Polemo Middinia its tune is referred to

> Interea ante alios dux piperlarius heros,
> Præcedens magnamque gerens cum burdine pypam,
> Incipit Harlai cunctis sonare Batellum.

And in a MS. collection of tunes, written in the hand of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, which I have seen, occurs, "the battle of harlaw." From the extreme popularity of the Song, it is not to be wondered at though every early imprint of it has now disappeared. (! ! !) Ramsay probably gave his copy from a stall edition of his own day, which copy has successively been edited by Mr. Sibbald, Mr. Finlay, and Mr. Laing, and has appeared in other collections. A copy apparently taken for recitation is given in "The Thistle of Scotland, Aberdeen, 1823,"—the editor of which among a good deal of stuff which is not very comprehensible, points out various localities, and gives 3 stanzas of a burlesque song on the same subject popular in the north."]

(75) The hunttis of cheuet.

[This is the older and far finer version of the well-known ballad of *Chevy-Chase*. A noble ballad it is, this *Hunting of the Cheviot*,—no doubt that which stirred the heart of Sidney more than a trumpet,—though it's not known nearly so well as its poorer modernization, *Chevy-Chase*. The only copy we have of it is in the Ashmole MS. 48, leaves 15–18. Hearne first printed it in his Preface to the History of Gulielmus Neubrigensis, p. lxxxii. Percy made it the first ballad in his *Reliques*, and it has been reprinted in Prof. Child's Ballads, vii. 29, &c, &c. The Rychard Sheale, whose name is at the end of the ballad, was a well-known minstrel and writer of doggrel, and made either this copy or the one from which it was taken. Copiers in old times often signed their names to the works

they copied. The fight of which the ballad tells, is not known to History, except in so far as it's mixt up with the battle of Otterbourne fought in 1388.

Of the modern version of the ballad, *Chevy Chase*, the copies and variations are many. Perhaps the oldest copy is in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 7–16. That in 'the Scotch edition printed at Glasgow 8vo. 1747, is remarkable,' says Bp. Percy, 'for the wilful Corruptions made in all the Passages which concern the two nations.'

See Maidment's *Scotish Ballads*, 1868, i. 81; Dr. Rimbault's *Musical Illustrations to Percy's Reliques*, p. 1; Chappell's *Popular Music*, &c., &c.]

(76) Sal i go vitht zou to rumbelo fayr?

[No such place as Rumbelo or Rumbeloch is known, says Mr. Murray though the word *rumbelow* has been common in ballad-burdens from early times. Take this, on the battle of Bannockburn, 1314, preserved by the English chronicler Fabyan:

Maydins of England, sore may ye morne
For your lemmans ye haue loste at Bannockysborne,
Wyth heue a lowe.
What wenyt the kynge of England
So soone to have wonne Scotlande,
Wyth rumbylow?]

(77) Greuit is my sorrou.

[Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 132. The poem is English: The lament of a sad lady whom her lover's unkindness slays.

Sloane MS. 1584, leaf 85.[1]

(1)

Greuus ys my sorowe
Both evyne and[2] moro!
Vnto my selffe a-lone
Thus do I make my mowne,
That Vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
And putt me to this peyne.
Alas! what Remedy?
That I cannot refreyne.

(2)

Whan other men doyth sleype,
Thene do I syght and weype;
Alle Ragius in my bed,
As one for paynes neyre ded,
That vnkyndnes haue kyllyd me,
And putt me to this payne.
Alas! what remedy?
That I cannott refreyne.

(3)

My harte, ytt haue no Reste,
but stylle with peynes oppreste;
And yett of alle my Smart,
Yit grevith moste my harte
That vnkyndnes shuld kylle me,
and putt me to this payne.
Alas! what Remedy? [*lf.* 85 *bk.*]
That I cannott refreyne.

(4)

Wo worth[3] trust vntrusty!
Wo worth love vn-lovyd!
Wo worth hape vn-blamyd!
Wo worth favtt vn-namyd,
Thus vnkyndly to kyll me,
And putt me to this payne!
Now alas! what Remedy?
That I cannott refrayne.

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[1] Printed also by Ritson, in his *Aneient Songs*, 1790, p. 93; and in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, 1841, i. 70.

[2] Every final *d* has a curl to it; and nearly every final *n* and *h* have a stroke over them.

[3] be to.

(5)

Alas! I lyve to longe;
my paynes be so stronge;
for *com*forth haue I none;
God wott I wold fayne be gone,
for vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
And putt me to this payne.
Alas! what remedy?
That I cannott refrayne.

(6)

Iff ony wyght be here
That byeth love so dere:
come nere! lye downe by me,
And weype for company!
for vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
And putt me to this payne.
Alas! what Remedy? [*leaf* 86.]
That I cannott refrayne.

(7)

My foes whiche love me nott,
Be-vayle my deth, I wott;
And he that love me beste,
hyme selfe my deth haith dreste.
What vnkyndnes shuld kyle me,
If this ware nott my payne?
Alas! what remedy?
That I cannott refreyne.

(8)

My last wyll*e* here I make,
To god my soule I be-take,
And my wrechyd body
As erth in a hole to lye;
for vnkyndnes to kyle me,
And putt me to this payne.
Alas! what remedy?
That I cannot refreyne.

(9)

O harte, I the bequyeth
To hyme that is my deth
Yff that no harte haith he,
my harte his schalbe,
Thovght vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
And putt me to this payne.
Yett if my body dye, [*lf.* 86 *bk.*]
my hertt cannot refrayne!

(10)

Placebo, dilexi!
com, weype this obsequye,
My mowrnar*us*[1] dolfully,
come weype this psalmody
of vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me
and putt me to this payne.
be-hold this wrechid body,
*tha*t yo*u*r vnkyndnes haith slayne!

(11)

Now I be-sych all*e* ye,
namely[2] *tha*t lovers be,
my love my deth for-gyve,
and soffer hyme to lyve
Thovght vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
And putt me to this payne.
Yett haid I rether dye
for his sake ons agayne.

(12)

My tombe, ytt schalbe blewe,
In tokyne that I was trewe
To bringe my love frome dovte;
Itt shalbe writtynge abowtte,
That vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
and putt me to this payne.
be-hold this wrechid body [*leaf* 87.]
That y^or^ vnkyndnes haith slayne!

(13)

O lady, lerne by me,
Sley nott love wylfully,
for fer love waxyth denty,
. . . . . .
vnkyndnes to kyle me,
or putt love to this payne.
I ware the, better dye
for loves Sake a-gayne.

(14)

Grevus Is my Soro,
but deth ys my boro;
ffor to my selfe a-lone
Thus do I make my mone,
That vnkyndnes haith kyllyd me,
And passyd is my payne.
prey for this ded body
*tha*t y^or^ vnkyndnes haith slayne!

ffinis amen.

(78) Turne the, sueit ville, to me.

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[1] (mourners) MS. mowrmar*us*.

[2] especially.

(79) My lufe is lyand seik;
Send hym ioy, send hym ioy!
[I suppose these 2 lines belong to one song.]

(80) Fayr luf, lent thou me thy mantil? ioy!
[The original song is probably lost, but a ludicrous parody, in which the chorus is preserved, is well known in the South of Scotland. It begins,

Our guidman's away to the Mers
Wi' the mantle, jo! wi' the mantle jo!
Wi' his breiks on his heid, and his bonnet on his ers,
Wi' the merry merry mantle o' the green, jo!
Leyden, p. 279.]

(81) The perssee & the mongumrye met.
[This is line 117 of the modernized Scotch version of the ballad of "The Battle of Otterbourne," printed in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, i. 354, and Prof. Child's *Ballads*, vii. 19, &c.:—

The Percy and Montgomery met,
That either of other were fain;
They swapped swords, and they twa swat,
And aye the blood ran down between.[1]

The two verses before it have a suspiciously modern twang, and this verse seems to me a modern cooking of the earlier verse about Percy and Douglas:

English version.	*Scotch version.*
The Percy and the Douglas mette, That ether of other was fayne;	When Percy wi' the Douglas met, I wat he was fu' fain;
They schapped together, whyll that the swette, With swords of fyne collayne.	They swakked their swords, till sair they swat, And the blood ran down like rain.

But it may be one of the genuine repetitions that the old ballad writers often indulged in.

The oldest copy of the ballad that we have is that of the English version, in a MS. of about 1550 A.D., Cotton, Cleopatra C iv, leaf 64, and was printed by Percy in the fourth edition of his *Reliques*, instead of the later and less perfect copy that he had given in his earlier editions from the Harleian MS. 293, leaf 52. The English version says nothing of Sir Hugh Montgomery killing Percy, but only

Then was ther a Scottyshe prisoner tayne,
Sir Hugh Mongomery was hys name. (l. 161–2.)

See the treatise by Mr. Robert White of Newcastle, on the Battle of Otterbourne, with appendix and illustrations, London, 1857, and his advertised 'History' of the battle.]

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[1] In the differing and short version in Herd's *Scottish Songs*, i. 154 (ed. 1869), and Child's *Ballads*, vii. 177–180, where Douglas is killed by a little boy with a little penknife, the verse above runs thus

Then Percy and Montgomery met,
And weel a wat they war na fain:
They swapped swords, and they twa swat,
And ay the blood ran down between. (lines 33–6.)

(82) That day, that day, that gentil day.

[In the Brit. Mus. Additional MS. 5465, leaf 108 back, is the following pretty song to which an authority in such matters has referred me as the same as 'That day, that day, that gentil day' in the *Complaynt* list; but the two are evidently different. The present song is perhaps in praise of the White Rose of Lancaster which, (for Edward IV) Adam of Cobsam praised in The *Wright's Chaste Wife*, p. iv, p. 20.

This day day dawes,
this gentill day[1] dawes,
this gentill day dawes,
& I must home gone.

[2]In a glori*us* garden grene,
sawe I syttyng a comly quene,
a-mong þ^e flouris þ*at* fresh byn.
She gaderd a floure, and sett be-twene.
þ^e lyly white rose me thouȝt I sawe,
& eu*er* she sang
this day day dawes,
this gentill day dawes, *vt supra.*

In that garden be flouris of hew,
the gelofir gent þ*at* she well knewe,
the floure de luce she did on rewe,
& said 'the whiȝt rose is most trewe,
this garden to rule be ryȝtwis lawe.'
the lyly whyȝte rose me thought I sawe,
& eu*er* She sang
this day day dawes,
this gentill day dawes, *vt supra.*

The notion that Prof. Child seems to have started (*Ballads* vii. 34, note), and that Mr. Hales sanctions (*Percy Fol. Bal. & Rom.* ii. 2), that the 'That day, that day, that gentill day' of the *Complaynt*, is a misquotation of "That day, that day, that dredfull day!" l. 99 of *The Hunting of the Cheviot*, and therefore means that Ballad, I cannot away with. For, 1. the *Complaynt* has already put *The Hunttis of Cheuet* in its list of "sueit sangis," eight above "That day, that day, that gentil [or dredfull] day," and would not, of course, repeat it: 2. Why should we suppose the careful writer of the *Complaynt* to have put "gentil" for "dredfull," and thus made a double fool of himself, when the natural supposition that the ballad—like so many others in the list—has not come down to us, removes all difficulty? It is true that Dauney (*Ancient Scotish Melodies*, Edinburgh, 1838, p. 53) runs the two lines together as part of one song or ballad.

The Persee & the Mongumrye met
That day, that day, that gentil day;

but if he is right, this must be a new ballad, and all prior critics have been wrong in identifying the first line with the *Battle of Otterbourne* ballad. Till the discovery of the new ballad, most of us will hold on to the old one, especially since '*That day*' has 4 accents, as if it were a first line; though 4 accents often occur in second lines.]

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[1] MS. day day.

[2] I take the words at the foot of the page.

(83) My luf is laid apon ane knycht.

(84) Allace, that samyn sueit face!
[Godlified in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 56.]

(85) In ane myrthtful moron.

(86) My hart is leiuit [= left] on the land.

¶ Thir scheiphirdis ande there vyuis sang mony vthir melodius sangis, the quhilkis i hef nocht in memorie. than eftir this sueit celest armonye, tha began to dance in ane ring. euyrie ald scheiphyrd led his vyfe be the hand, and euyrie zong scheiphird led hyr quhome he luffit best. Ther vas viij scheiphyrdis, and ilk ane of them hed ane syndry instrament to play to the laif. the fyrst hed ane drone bag pipe, the nyxt hed ane pipe maid of ane bleddir and of ane reid, the thrid playit on ane trump, the feyrd on ane corne pipe, the fyft playit on ane pipe maid of ane gait horne, the sext playt on ane recordar[1], the seuint plait on ane fiddil, and the last plait on ane quhissil. kyng amphion that playit sa sueit on his harpe quhen he kepit his scheip, nor zit appollo the god of sapiens, that kepit kyng admetus scheip, vitht his sueit menstralye, none of thir tua playit mayr cureouslye nor did thir viij scheiphyrdis befor rehersit; nor zit al the scheiphirdis that virgil makkis mention in his bucolikis, thai culd nocht be comparit to thir foir said scheiphyrdis; nor orpheus that playit sa sueit quhe he socht his vyf in hel, his playing prefferrit nocht thir foir said scheiphirdis; nor zit the scheiphyrd pan, that playt to the goddis on his bag pype, nor mercurius that playit on ane sey reid, none of them culd preffer thir foirsaid scheiphirdis. i beheld neuyr ane mair delectabil recreation. for fyrst thai began vitht tua bekkis and vitht a kysse. euripides, iuuenal, perseus, horasse, nor nane of the satiric poiettis, quhilkis mouit ther bodeis as thai hed bene dansand quhen thai pronuncit ther tragiedeis, none of them kepit moir geomatrial mesure nor thir scheiphyrdis did in ther dansing. Nor ludius, that vas the fyrst dansar of rome, culd nocht hef bene comparit to thir scheiphirdis. it vas ane celest recreation to behald ther lycht lopene, galmouding[2], stendling[3] bakuart & forduart dansand base dansis[4],

[1] See p. 9 (note 7). [2] gambolling. [3] striding.

[4] [Douce, B. 507. (Bodl. Libr.)]

The introductory to wryte and to pronounce Frenche compyled by Alexander Barcley. Lond. 1521, 4°.

[leaf 16.] ¶ Here foloweth the maner of dauncynge of bace dauces after the vse of fraunce & other places translated out of frenche in englysshe by Robert coplande.

FOr to daunce ony bace daunce there behoueth .iiii. paces / that is to wite syngle / double: repryse / & braule. And ye ought fyrst to make reuerence towarde the lady / & than make .ii. syngles .i. double / a repryse / & a

braule. And this rule ye ought alway to kepe at *the* beginnynge / as it is sayd. And somtyme is made .ii. syngles after the doubles / & before the reprinses / & that is done whan *the* measures ben parfite. Also whan ony songe or daunce is wryten. R. betokeneth reuere*n*ce. By .ss. double betokeneth .ii. syngle paces / & by .d. betokeneth .i. double pace. And yf there be .ddd. ye ought to make iii. doubles after as *the* dau*n*ce requyreth / for somtyme is made but .i. double / & somtime iii. or .v. one after another / and therfore is ddddd. thus wryten. And whan .3. is wryte*n* it betokeneth / repryse. & yf .333. be wryte*n* it signyfieth .iii. repryses / & .33333. betokeneth fiue. For ye ought neuer to make .ii. nor .iiii togyder / nor of the doubles also / for *the* doubles & the repryses ben euer odde in no*m*bre. ¶ Also all bace dau*n*ces begyn by syngles or reuerence / and ende *with* braule. ¶ Also it behoueth to knowe the no*m*bre of notes of euery bace dau*n*ce / & the paces after *the* measure *of the notes. Therfore ye ought to wyte *that* fyrst ye [*leaf 16b.] ought to make reuerence *with the* lyfte fote / & than a braule *with* the right fote / than two syngle paces / the fyrst *with* the lyfte fote and the seconde with the ryght fote in goynge forwarde / & ye must reyse your body.

¶ The fyrst double pace is made *with* the lyft fote in reysynge the body steppynge .iii. pace forwarde lyghtly / the fyrst *with* the lyfte fote / the seconde *with the* ryght fote / & the thyrde *with* the lyft fote / as the fyrst.

¶ The seconde double pace begynneth *with* the ryght fote goynge thre paces forwarde as is sayd of *the* fyrst in reysynge *the* body. &c.

¶ The thyrd double pace is done as *the* first.

¶ It is to note *that* there be neuer .ii. double paces togyder / for *the* doubles & repryses be euer odde in nombre .i. iii. or v. &c.

¶ A repryse alone ought to me made *with* the ryght fote in drawynge the ryght fote bakwarde a lytyll to the other fote.

¶ The seconde repryse ought to be made (whan ye make .iii. at ones) *with* the lyft fote in reysynge the body in lyke wyse.

¶ The thyrde repryse is made in place and as the fyrst also.

¶ And merke for all that is sayd that euery of these paces occupyeth as moche tyme *the* one as the other. That is to wyte. a reuere*n*ce / one note. a double / one note. two sy*n*gles one note. a repryse / one note. a braule / one note.

¶ And ye ought to wyte *that* in some places of fraunce they call *the* repryses / desmarches and the braule they call / conge. in englysshe leue.

¶ This done / ye ought to put in wrytynge for a repryse thus .3. & for thre reprises thus 333 / and for the braule thus .b.

¶ Bace daunces.

¶ Filles a marier / with .iiii. measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. 333. b.
ss. d. 333. b. } Unparfyte.

ss. ddd. ss. 333. b.
ss. d. ss. 333. b. } Parfyte.

¶ Le petit rouen / with .iiii. measures.

R. b. ss. ddddd. ss. 333. b.
ss. d. ss. 333. b.
ss. ddddd. ss. 333. b. Parfyte
ss. ddd. ss. 333. b.

¶ Amours. with two measures.

R. b. ss. d. ss. 333. b.
ss. ddd. ss. 333. b. } Parfyte.

pauuans[1], galzardis[2], turdions[3], braulis[4] and branglis, buffons[5], vitht mony vthir lycht dancis, the quhilk ar ouer prolixt to be rehersit.

¶ La gorriere / thre measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. 333. b.
ss. d. 3. b. — Unparfyte.
ss. ddd. 333. b.

¶ La allemande. thre measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. ss. 333. b.
ss. d. ss. 3. b. — Parfyte.
ss. ddd. 3. b. — Unparfyte.

¶ La brette / foure measures.

R. b. ss. d. ss. 3. b.
ss. d. 3. b.
ss. ddd. 3. b. — Half parfyte.
ss. d. ss. 3. b.

¶ La royne / foure measures.

R. b. ss. ddd. 3. b.
ss. d. 3. b. — Unparfyte.
ss. ddd. 3. b.
ss. d. ss. 3. b. — Parfyte.

¶ These daunces haue I set at *the* ende of this boke to thentent that euery lerner of *the* sayd boke after theyr dylygent study may reioyce somwhat theyr spyrytes honestly in eschewynge of ydlenesse the portresse of vyces.

¶ Imprynted at London in the Fletestrete at the sygne of the rose Garlande by Robert coplande. the yere of our lorde. M. CCCCC. xxi. *the* xxii. day of Marche.

END.

[1] Puttenham speaks of 'Songs . . such as might be sung with voice . . or danced by measures, as the Italian *pavan* and *galliard* are at these daies [15] in Princes' courts, and the places of honourable or civil assembly' (*Art of Poesie*, p. 27, Haslewood's reprint). *Pavana*, according to Italian writers, was derived from *Paduana*,—and not from *Pavo* a peacock.' *Pop. Mus.* ii. 772. "Morley says 'The *pavan* for grave dancing: *galliards*, which usually follow pavans, they are for a lighter and more stirring kind of dancing.' . . Baker, in his *Principles of Musick*, 1636, 'says 'Of this sort (the Ionic mood) are *pavans*, invented for a slow and soft kind of dancing, altogether in duple proportion [common time]. Unto which are framed *galliards* for more quick and nimble motion, always in triple proportion: and therefore the triple is oft called *galliard* time, and the duple, *pavan* time. In this kind is also comprehended the infinite multitude of *Ballads*, set to sundry pleasant and delightful tunes by cunning and witty composers, with *country dances* fitted unto them, . . . and which surely might and would be more freely permitted by our sages, were they used, as they ought [to be], only for health and recreation.' [p. 8] At this time Puritanism was nearly at its height." *Pop. Mus.* i. 157.

[2] The *Galliard* is the only one of these dances mentioned in a late English list of "*Nine sorts of common Dances always used:* Salingers round, Bobbin-jo, Jingle-de-cut, Bodkings *Galliard*, the madmans Morris, Drunken Barnaby, the Bedfull of bones, room for Cuckolds, and the Lankishire hornpipe. "*The Figure of Nine. Printed for J. Deacon and C. Dennison.* ? temp. Charles II. The galliard was not introduced into England till about 1541 A.D. It is

zit nochtheles i sal rehers sa mony as my ingyne can put in memorie. in the fyrst, thai dancit,

(87) Al cristyn mennis dance.

(88) The northt of scotland.

(89) Huntis vp.

[This is a lively English tune well fitted for dancing, printed in Mr. Chappell's *Popular Music*, i. 60, with much information about the tune and the various words to it. The reader will find a reprint of the first mention of the tune in my *Ballads from Manuscripts* for the Society, vol. i, p. 310. This was "in 1537 when information was sent to the Council against one John Hogon, who had offended against the proclamation of 1533, which was issued to suppress 'fond books, ballads, rhimes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue,' by singing 'with a crowd or a fyddyll' a political song to that tune." (*Pop. Mus.* i. 60.)

Of William Gray—"one *Gray*, what good estimation did he grow vnto with the same king Henry [VIII], and afterward with the Duke of Sommerset, Protectour, for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was *The hunte it* [= *is*] *vp, the hunte is vp*"—the reader will find some Birthday Verses to Somerset in my said *Ballads*, p. 311. Religious parodies of *The Hunt is up* are printed at the end of Mr. Halliwell's edition of the moral play of *Wit and Science*, from the Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 15,233, and in the *Godlie Ballates*, p. 153, ed. D. Laing, 1868: "With huntis vp, with huntis vp." Any song intended to arouse in the morning, even a love-song, was formerly called a *hunt's-up*. *Chappell.*]

(90) The comout entray.

(91) Lang plat fut of gariau.

(92) Robene hude.

[Captain Cox XXII, p. li. ? Does the translator of the *Roman de la Rose* refer to this dance:

> But haddest thou knowen hym beforne,
> Thow woldest on a booke have sworne,
> Whan thou hym saugh in thylke araye,
> That he, that whylome was so gaye,

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mentioned in the ballad of John de Reeve, in the *Percy Folio Bal. & Rom.* ii. 579, l. 529. Cotgrave has '*Galop gaillard.* The Gallop Galliard; or a Passasalto; or, one pace and a leap;' and '*Balladinerie:* f. High, or lively dancing, as of *Galliards*, Corantoes, or Jigges.'

[3] *Tourdion* the daunce tearmed a Round. *Cotgrave.*

[4] Webbe mentions *brawls*, as well others of the *Complaynt* dances: "neither is there anie tune or stroke which may be sung or plaide on instruments, which hath not some poetical ditties framed according to the numbers thereof: some to Rogero, some to Trenchmore, to downe right Squire, to *Galliardes*, to *Pauines*, to Iygges, to *Brawles*, to all manner of tunes which euerie Fidler knowes better then my selfe." 1586. W. Webbe. *A Discourse of English Poetrie*, p. 61, ed. 1870.

[5] *Dancer les Buffons.* To daunce a morris. *Buffon:* m. A buffoon, ieaster sycophant, merrie fool, sportfull companion; one that liues by making others merrie. *Cotgrave.*

And of the daunce Jolly Robyn[1],
Was tho become a Jacobyn.
Romaunt of the Rose (? Chaucer s) l. 7455.

Cotgrave has '*Chanson de Robin*, a merrie and extemporall song, or fashion of singing, whereto one is ever adding somewhat, or may at pleasure adde what he list. . .'

In 1550, Robert Crowley, in his *Voyce of the last Trumpet* (sign. B. ii.), says to 'the lewde or vnlerned priest,'

Geue ouer all thy tippillyng,
Thy tauerne gate, and table playe,
Thy cardes, thy dice, and wyne bibyng,
And learne to walke a sobre waye. . .

But if thou canste do any good,
In teachyng of an A. B. C.
A primar, or else *Robynhode:*
Let that be good pastyme for the.

The old puritan printer and preacher was not, then, a condemner of ballads.]

(93) Thom of lyn.

[Leyden quotes at p. 274, a verse from Forbes's Aberdeen Cantus:—

The pypers drone was out of tune,
Sing *Young Thomlin*,
Be merry, be merry, and twise so merrie,
With the light of the moon.

I suppose this to be the English ballad licensed later to Mr. John Wallye and Mr. Toye in 1557–8, *Stationers' Register A*, leaf 22, (Collier's *Stat. Reg.* i. 4), and quoted by Moros in Wager's Interlude above, p. cxxvii.]

(94) Freris al.

(95) Ennyrnes [= Inverness, Gael. *Ionar nis*].

(96) The loch of slene [= Slyne].

(97) The gosseps dance.

(98) Leuis grene.
[see No. (51), p. cl.]

(99) Makky.

(100) The speyde.

(101) The flail.

(102) The lammes vynde.

(103) Soutra.

[Soutra or Soultra edge forms the watershed between the Forth and the Tweed; and Soutra is a small hamlet on the ridge, on the highroad from Edinburgh to Lauder. *Soutra*, separates the *South countrie* from Lothian.—J. A. H. Murray.]

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[1] The French original is

Que cil qui devant soloit estre
De la dance li biaus Robins.

(104) Cum kyttil me naykyt vantounly.

(105) Schayke leg fut befor gossep.

(106) Rank at the rute.

(107) Baglap and al.

(108) Ihonne ermistrangis dance.

[The earliest ballad that we have on Johnny Armstrong is an English one, but Mr. Wm. Chappell has not yet found the tune of it. The words are in *Wit restored*, 1658, and in *Wit and Drollery, Jovial Poems*, 1682, called "A Northern Ballet," beginning:

> 'There dwelt a man in fair Westmoreland,
> Johnny Armstrong men did him call;
> He had neither lands nor rents coming in,
> Yet he kept eight score men in his hall.'
>
> *Popular Music*, i. 260, note.

Another English ballad about this hero is entitled "Johnny Armstrong's last Good-night; shewing how John Armstrong with his eight-score men fought a bloody battle with the Scotch king at Edenborough, *To a pretty Northern Tune*." A copy is in the Bagford Collection (643, m. 10, p. 94) printed by and for W. O[nley]: also in *Old Ballads*, 1727, i. 170, and in Evans's *Old Ballads*, 1810, iii. 101.' *Pop. Mus.* ii. 776.

But the *Complaynt* dance must have been one named in honour of the great Border plunderer Johnie Armstrong of Gilnockie, who was hung[1] by James V. soon after that king attained his majority in 1524, and about whom Allan Ramsay published a ballad in his *Evergreen*, which he says he took down from the recitation of a gentleman of the name of Armstrong, who was the sixth in descent from the hero. It was printed too in the 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' in R. Chambers's *Scottish Ballads*, p. 35, &c., &c. How much of the ballad is Ramsay's writing, no one knows. 'Jock o' the Syde was another Armstrong, and there's a third Johnie Armstrong in 'Dick o' the Cow:' see the Ballads in *Chambers*, p. 40, 46.

In R. Chambers's *Scottish Songs*, ii. 528, is also an 'Armstrong's Good-night' cookt up from two bits of four lines each found by Burns. He, being a poet, left the bits as he found them. When will his countrymen learn to follow his example, and keep their meddling fingers off their old singers' remains?]

(109) The alman haye.

[The Almayne or German haye. The *Hay* was a country-dance, of which the reel was a variety. "In Sir John Davies's *Orchestra*, 'He taught them rounds and *winding heys* to tread.' (In the margin he explains 'rounds and winding-heys' to be country dances.) In *The Dancing Master* the hey is one of the figures of most frequent occurrence. In one country-dance, 'the women stand still, the men going the hey between them.' This is evidently winding in and out. In another, two men

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[1] See, in Lyndesay's *Satyre* (ed. E. E. T. Soc.) p. 454, l. 2092–4

> Heir is ane coird baith great and lang—
> Quhilk hangit *Johne the Armistrang*—
> Of gude hemp, soft and sound.

Mr. Murray says that 'Johne the' is an error for 'Johnye.'

and one woman dance the hey—like a reel. In a third, three men dance this hey, and three women at the same time—like a double reel. In *Dargason*, where many stand in one long line, the direction is 'the single hey, all handing as you pass, till you come to your places.' When the hand was given in passing, it was always so directed; but the hey was more frequently danced without 'handing.' In 'the square dance,' the two opposite couples dance the single hey twice to their places, the woman standing before her partner at starting. When danced by many in a circle, if hands were given, it was like the 'grande chaîne' of a quadrille." *Pop. Mus.* ii. 629.]

(110) The bace of voragon.

(111) Dangeir.

(112) The beye.

(113) The dede dance.

[Not known, I believe, in Scotland; but it is, no doubt, either the tune referred to in *Hawkins* (see below) or 'The Doleful Dance and Song of Death,' of which the tune, and a late Ballad, are printed by Mr. Chappell in his *Popular Music*, i. 85. The tune is also called '*The Shaking of the Sheet*,' and 'is frequently mentioned by writers in the 16th and 17th centuries, both as a country dance and as a ballad tune.' In the recently-discovered play of *Misogonus*, produced about 1560, *The Shaking of the Sheets*, *The Vicar of St. Fools*, *and the Catching of Quails*, are mentioned as country dances. . . The tune is also mentioned in Lilly's *Pappe with a Hatchet*, 1589; in Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579; by Rowley, Middleton, Taylor the water-poet, Marston, Massinger, Heywood, Dekker, Shirley, &c., &c. 'There are two tunes under this name, the one in William Ballet's Lute-Book, which is the same as [that] printed by Sir John Hawkins in his *History of Music* (vol. ii. p. 934, 8vo edit.); the other, and in all probability the more popular one, is contained in numerous publications from *The Dancing Master* of 1650–51, to the *Vocal Enchantress* of 1783.' *Pop. Mus.* i. 84.]

(114) The dance of kylrynne.

(115) The vod and the val.

(116) Schaik a trot.

Than, quhen this dansing vas dune, tha departit and past to cal there scheip to ther scheip cottis. thai bleu vp there bagpipis. than the bel veddir for blythtnes bleyttit rycht fast, and the rammis raschit there heydis to gyddir. than the laif of ther fat flokkis followit on the fellis, baytht zouis and lammis, kebbis[1], and dailis[2], gylmyrs[3] and dilmondis[4], and mony herueist hog[5]. than i departit fra that companye.

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[1] ewes, the lambs of which have died soon after being produced.

[2] ewes which miss conceiving and are fattened for eating.

[3] ewes two years old.

[4] wethers more than twelve months old.

[5] *hog*, a young sheep before it has lost its first fleece, termed *harvest-hog* from being smeared at the end of harvest, when it ceases to be called a lamb. *Leyden.*

The list of Songs in the *Complaynt* is so much longer than that in *Laneham's Letter* that some readers might suspect that Scotland was far richer in ballads and songs[1] in the 17th century, than England; but a perusal of Mr. Wm. Chappell's *Popular Music* will soon cure them of this opinion. Pre-Reformation Scotland was, no doubt, as prolific of songs and ballads—relatively to its population—as England. Andrew Boorde says that the Scotchmen (of about 1540 A.D.) "be hardy men, and well fauored, and stronge men, *& good musycyons;* in these iiii. qualytès they be moost lyke, aboue all other nacions, to an Englyshe man." (*Introduction*, p. 137, ed. F. J. F. 1870.) The ballads of one country were sung in the other: at least 7 of the Scotch list are English ballads: two of Captain Cox's are possibly Scotch, or at least Northern. Compare, too, in the extract that Dauney gives, in his *Ancient Scotish Melodies*, from the accounts of the Lords High Treasurers,

1489, Jul. 10. Item, to Inglis pyparis that cum to the castel yet, and playit to the king, viij. li.[2] viij s.
1491, Aug. 21. Item to iiij. Inglis pyparis, viij. unicorns, vij. li. iiij. s.
1503, Aug. 13. Item to viij Inglis menstrales, be the kingis command, xl. french crownis, xxviij. l.
Item, to the trumpetis of Ingland, xxviij. l.
Item, to the Erle of Oxfordis tua menstrales, xxviij. l.
1504. Item, to tua Inglise wemen that sang in the Kingis pailzeoune, xxiij. s.

But after the Reformation, the ballad-life was crusht out of Scotland, though it flourisht in England. Knox's followers discouraged ballads and music by every means in their power, and procured the passing of a series of Acts, punishing the singers of ballads. Here are a few samples, sent me by Mr. Wm. Chappell, from Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland:*

In 1574. "Pipers, fiddlers, and minstrels are unceremoniously classed together as vagabonds, and threatened with severe penalties, should they venture into the city" [of Glasgow] "in contraven-

[1] All ballads are songs, because they are meant to be sung; but all songs are not ballads, because songs proper are not verse narratives meant for the common people, and meant for recitation as much as music, as ballads are, but lyrical expressions of feeling, meant only to be sung. A *balade* was originally a poem of three stanzas, all having the same burden, followed by an Envoy.

[2] A Scotch pound was a crown, of 5*s*.

tion of the act."—Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, V. 1, p. 92.

An. 1574. "At this date he" [the Regent Morton] "induced the Privy Council to issue an edict that 'nane tak upon hand to emprent or sell whatsoever book, ballet, or other werk,' without its being examined and licensed, under pain of *death, & confiscation of goods.*"—(*Ditto*, p. 94.)

12 Aug. 1579. "Twa poets of Edinburgh, remarking some of his [the Earl of Morton's] sinistrous dealing, did publish the same to the people, by a famous libel written against him; & Morton, hearing of this, causit the men to be brought to Stirling, where they were convict for slandering ane of the king's councillors, & were there baith hangit. The names of the men were William Turnbull, schoolmaster in Edinburgh, and William Scot, notar. They were baith weel belovit of the common people for their common offices."—(*Quoted in ditto, p.* 125.)

"At the fall of Morton, less than two years after, when he was taken prisoner and conducted to Edinburgh Castle, as he passed the Butter Tron, a woman who had her husband put to death at Stirling for a ballad entitled *Daff, & dow nothing* [as much as to say, '*Sport, and be at your ease*'] sitting down on her bare knees, poured out many imprecations upon him."—(*Ditto, same page.*)

[*Still* 1579.] "The estates passed an act against 'strang and idle beggars,' and 'sic as make themselves fules, *and are bards*,' . . . . '*minstrels, sangsters*, and tale tellers, not avowed in special service by some of the lords of parliament or great burghs,' and vagabond *scholars of the universities* of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen,' "Two poets hanged in August, and an act of Parliament against bards and minstrels in October; truly, it seems to have been sore times for the tuneful tribe."—(*Ditto*, p. 131.)

The Ballad of "Balow."

While on the subject of English and Scotch Ballads, I take the opportunity of printing the only two known hitherto-unprinted copies of *Balow*, which Mr. David Laing of Edinburgh has been kind enough to send me from Pinkerton's 4to. MS.[1] that now belongs to him. One of these copies, '*Palmer's Balow*,' is a ver-

[1] This is the MS. of which Ritson says in his *Scotish Songs*, vol. i. p. cix, note (108), "The editor of *Select* Scotish *ballads* pretends, that in a quarto manuscript in his possession, 'containing a collection of poems, by different hands, from the reign of queen Elizabeth to the middle of the last [17th] century, when it was apparently written, there are two *balowes*, as they are there stiled, the first, The balow, *Allon*, the second, *Palmer's balow*.'"

sion of the genuine old *Balow;* the other, '*The Balow: Allane,*' is a poorer and later affair. See Evans's Old Ballads, 1810, 'the New Balow.'

The cause of my asking Mr. Laing for these copies, was this. In the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, vol. iii. p. 516–523, we printed for the first time the only three MS. copies of the genuine *Balow* that had ever been in type in an uncookt state[1]. In the Introduction to the ballad, p. 518–19, Mr. Wm. Chappell stated that *Balow* was a 16th century ballad, not a 17th; that it was English, not Scotch; and that Watson in Part III. of his *Comic and Serious Scots Poems*, Edinburgh, 1713, was the first to claim for Lady Anne Bothwell 'the particular honour of having been the wench of' his version of 'The new Balow; or, a Wenches Lamentation for the loss of her Sweetheart: he having left her a babe to play with, being the fruits of her folly.' Mr. Chappell further showed on the evidence of one of two stanzas added in Watson's Scotch version, and not in any English copy, that it was ridiculous to suppose that this Scotch addition, or the poem in which it was found, referred to Lady Anne Bothwell or any lady of rank. "In the second [stanza] we find the inducement supposed to have been offered by Lady Anne's lover:

> I was too credulous at the first
> To grant thee that a maiden durst,
> And *in thy bravery thou didst vaunt*
> *That I no maintenance should want* [!]"

Out of Watson's own mouth then, *his* attribution of the Ballad, at any rate, to Lady Anne Bothwell, was shown to be absurd. But this pricking of the Bothwell bubble by Mr. Chappell raised the bile of either Messrs. Ogle of Glasgow, or some shopman of theirs whom they employed to write notes to their new reprint of Watson's *Collection* in 1868; and in a very impertinent tone the said shopman attackt Mr. Chappell and his argument. The man seems to have felt acutely that Scotland's honour had been wounded by a little truth; 'yet he knew so little of his subject as to suppose Evans's Collection of Old Ballads, printed in 1811, of equal date and authority with the originals in the Roxburghe Collection.' It is needless to say that he does not move an inch Mr. Chappell's strong point, that the tune of *Balow*,—which

[1] Of the Percy Folio copy, I hold the 5th and 6th stanzas to be clearly later insertions

implies the words—is in two 16th century English music-books, and that both tune and words are in two other English music-books of 1649 and 1658, while the words are in Bp. Percy's Folio MS. of, say, 1645–50. Against this, the only Scotch evidence is the report that Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe (Walter Scott's contemporary) said he had heard that the Ballad applied to Lady Anne Bothwell. This rumour is not worth serious notice. The appearance of the ballad in Pinkerton's 4to MS. belonging to Mr. Laing, —which he considers, as Pinkerton did, to be of about 1650— so far from being evidence in favour of the Scotch origin of the ballad, is against it; for, says Mr. Laing, "There is nothing in the MS to indicate when or where it was written." Had it been written in Scotland, the Scotch mark of dialect at least, if not of handwriting, would have been unmistakeably on the MS. That being absent, we may safely conclude that the MS is English, as the ballad of *Balow* is. Even if we grant the *à priori* probability that a woman's lament over her seduction and desertion would belong to Scotland, the MS. evidence is yet clearly in favour of the ballad being English, as its language is. But annexed ballads, like annexed territories, and stolen waters, are sweet: and doubtless Scotch balladists will not be ready to give up *Balow*. The most profitable question hereafter will be, who shall gain the best title to it by admiring it most, for 'singularly beautiful,' 'most touching,' it is.

PALMER'S BALOW.

[*Pinkerton MS. 4to p.* 48. *On the margin Pinkerton writes "Lady Bothwell's Lament. Ball.* 2. 194."]

Balow my babe, ly still and sleepe!
It greves me sore to see thé weepe!
If thow wert quyet, I wold be glade;
Thy murneinge makes thy mother sade!
Balow, my boy, thy mother's ioy;
Thy father bred me great annoy!
Balow!

[1]And thow, my darleinge, sleep awhyle,
And when thow waikest, sueetlie smyle!
O doe not smyle as thy father did
To Cousinge[2] maides: nay God forbid!

[1] This stanza is like the third of the Addit. MS. 10, 337.

[2] cozen.

But yet I feare that thow wilt leare[1]
Thy father's face and hart to[1] beare:
Balow!

[2]When he begane to court my loue,
And with his sugared wordes to move,
His fained tongue and flatteringe cheare
That tyme to me did not apeire;
But now I see that crevell[3] he
Caires nather for my babe nor me.
Balow!

Fairweell, fairweell, the falsest youthe
That ever kist a womans mouthe!
Let never maiden efter me
Commit hir to thy curtasie!
For crevell[4] thow, if once she bowe,
Wilt her abuse; thow caires not how.
Balow!

I cannot chuse, but ever will
Be loueinge to thy father still,
Though cuninge he procured my hart,
That can in no wayes from him pairt.
In weell or woe, whare ere he goe,
My hart sall never pairt him fro!
Balow!

[5]Heir, by my greeff, I wowe and sueare,
Thé, and all vthers, to forbeare.
I'le never kise, nor cull, nor clape,
But lull my younglinge in my lape.
Hart, doe not greeve! leave off to murne!
And sleepe securelie, hart, allone!
[Balow.]

[*Pinkerton's 4to MS. p.* 46. *His scarcely legible note in the margin says: "This in Ramsay is mingled with the following* (Palmer's Balow) *except a few stanzas."*]

THE BALOW. ALLANE.

Balow my babe, frowne not on me,
Who still will weepe for wronginge thé,
Till from myne eyes a sea sall flow,
To saile my soule from mortall woe
To that immortall mirtall shore,
Where greeff slane ghosts can greeve no more.
Balow, Balow, Balow, Balow!

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[1] better readings than the *heare* and *still* of the Addit. MS. 10, 37.
[2] This is the 2nd stanza of the Addit. MS. copy.
[3] cruel. [4] *for* crewell, cruel.
[5] Marginal note by Pinkerton: "Wanting in Dr. Percy's edition." It's in both Gamble's copy and the Addit. MS. 10,337. *Percy Fol. Bal. & Rom.* ii. 516–17.

Be still my sad-one! spare those teares
To weepe when thow hast witt and yeares!
Thy greeffs are gatheringe to a sum,
God send thé patience when they cum!
Borne to Bewaile a father's shame,
A Mother's fall, a bastard's name!
Balow &c.

Balow, my deare! thy feathles dade,
When he thé prodigall had mead,
Of gudes and oathes regairdles, he
Preferr'd the warrs to thé and me;
Whare now, perhaps, thy curse and myne
Makes him eate accornes with the swyne.
Balow!

Yet peace, my comfort! curse not him,
Who now in sea of greeff doth sweim,
Perhaps of death, for who can tell,
Wither the iudge of heavin and hell
By some predest[i]ned deadlie lead,
Revengeinge me, hath struke him dead?
Balow!

And were I neir the fattall boundes
Where he lyes gaspinge in his woundes;
Repeatinge, as he pantes for breath,
Hir name, that woundes more deep then death,
And therwith dies: what hart so stronge
But wold forgiue the greatest wronge?
Balow!

If lininge[1] lack, for that loues sake
Which once I bore him I wold make
My smoake vnto his body meit,
A[nd] wrap him in that winding sheet!
Ay me! how hapy had I bein
If he had nèir bein wrap't therin!
Balow!

Balow, my babe! when thou hast yeares,
Forget thy Mother, scorne hir teares,
Thy birth denay, thy freindes deride,—
It's but a courtlie trick of pryde,—
Then mayest thou ryse, my sone, to be
A courtier, by disclameinge me.
Balow!

The copy of *Balow* in Ritson's *Scotish Songs*, i. 158, ed. 1794, like that in Herd's *Scottish Songs, etc.*, i. 65, ed. 1869, is in 13 stanzas, 9 of which are spurious; that in Pinkerton's *Select*

[1] *for* linnen.

Scotish Ballads, i. 59, has only 4 verses, the last being spurious, and all scotified.

I have now ended the list of work I set myself: to sketch hastily the stories of the books and ballads on which an Englishman of Shakespere's class and time tells us he was trained, and contrast them with those of a more educated Scotchman of a generation earlier. Of the Ballads of England the history has been written by Mr. Wm. Chappell. The Ballads of Scotland have, unluckily, not yet found their Chappell, so far as I know[1], the man who will honestly give us chapter and verse for every assertion, will go no further than his authorities warrant, and will expose the falsifications and forgeries of the men who have tampered with and invented many of their old ballads, real and unreal. Honest prints of all their old musical and ballad MSS.—however few—are much wanted, as these are evidence. We've had enough of Allan Ramsay, Watson, Buchan, and Co.

To trace the history of Kenilworth is no part of my task[2]—for that I refer to Dugdale, and the many copiers of him: as for its present state, I refer to Mr. Knowles's excellent photographs in his new edition of *Laneham:* to discuss the character of Leicester or his great Queen Elizabeth—great in spite of all her littlenesses—I do not purpose, much as I like to fancy our aftercomers setting Victorian England by the side of Elizabethan, and judging it worthy to be there. But, having spent this spring and summer in the sunshine and the glad light green of our fair native land, I cannot but dwell a while, in thought at least, on the bright days of our author during his happy stay in Warwickshire, a county lit for us all by a light of glory kindled in his time, and that will never die so long as our race lasts. Truly one understands the German soldier's quiet words to his comrade lately on the Rhine: "We are not worthy to be a nation, if we let the French take this from us." So felt the Elizabethans when the Armada was near; so the Georgians when the first Napoleon threatened; so the

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[1] Of course I trust Mr. Laing and Mr. Maidment.

[2] I add in an Appendix, p. 63, the Survey of Kenilworth in Henry VIII's time, from the Cotton MS. Vespasian, F ix. It's in Dugdale, etc.

Victorian volunteers when the Colonels of the third Napoleon planned to plunder London. But what are our 170,000 to the two millions wanted? Where is our statesman to make us an armed nation? Where is our Moltke to organize our defence? May the splendid example that Prussian patriotism has set us, teach us to make sure, that a like fate to that which awaits Louis Napoleon's soldiers shall meet the foe that sets 'one foot[1]' on our soil!

EGHAM,
August 21, 1870.

P.S.—The proof of the forgotten lines above comes on March 31, 1871, and makes me glad that I did not doubt Germany's triumph, much as I grieve over the present state of Paris. But, to return to Laneham:—

In exchange for the use of my description of Captain Cox's books, Mr. Knowles has been kind enough to give the Society copies of his map or plan of Kenilworth, reengraved from *Kenilworth Illustrated*, in order that our Members may be able to follow on it Laneham's description of the place. Mr. Knowles has also given us the following note on Elizabeth's reception at the Castle. She entered by the North-west Gate, from Warwick:—

"Besides postern gates (through the North-western one of which the Queen crossed 'the fayr tymbred bridge,' on July 11, 1575, 'too hunt the Hart of fors') there were not more than two entrance-gates to the Castle.

1. The fine portal under the keep opened originally on to the Redfen Lane. But it was now reduced in importance by Leicester, who, to make the Castle garden *private*, had shifted the great north entrance eastward, building his new stately Gateway near Lunn's Tower (see map), and forming aviaries in the Northern towers of the outer wall (see below).

2. Elizabeth came into the Castle by the entrance from Warwick, which was less altered. The floodgate or Gallery Tower had been rebuilt by Leicester, who had also (probably) widened the great dam, and made a broadish roadway on it.

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[1] The French boast after Saarbruck.

The map will show Mortimer's Tower, an interesting building (1200–1223), which Leicester had left untouched. Here the Lady of the Lake meets Elizabeth, who, having thanked her, passes through to the eastern gateway close under Cæsar's Tower, along the edge of the original Norman ditch, which was now 'a dry valley.' Part of this fosse happily yet remains, as is said below, though Hawkesworth, when he dismantled the Castle (ab. 1650), filled up two-thirds of it with the wreck of Henry the Eighth's building."

P.P.S.—Since these lines were written, *i. e.* during the present year (1871), the foundations and some exceedingly fine fragments of a third chapel have been discovered. It stood in the lower or Eastern outer Bailey; and its dimensions were about 100 feet by 50 (outside measurement). A jamb-base of the Sedilia and a simple string-course are still in site. All that has been found is of rather Early Decorated work, say about 1330 A.D. Edward III was at Kenilworth in December, 1329, as a charter granted to the Cistercian Abbey at Stoneleigh proves.—E. H. K.

NOTES TO FOREWORDS.

Page x.—The first modern edition of Laneham's *Letter* was printed at Warwick in 1784.

2. In Nichols's *Progresses of Q. Eliz.* vol. i., 1788.

3. Printed for G. H. Burn in 1821.

4. In *Kenilworth Illustrated*, 1821.

5. Again in 2nd edit. vol. i. of Nichol's *Prog. of Q. E.* (1823).

6. A reprint of Burn's edit. in *Kenilworth Festivities* in 1825.

7. Hotten's modernised reprint.

8. Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leicester; a Critical Inquiry into the Authenticity of the various Statements in relation to the Death of Amye Robsart, and of the Libels on the Earl of Leicester, with a vindication of the Earl by his nephew Sir Philip Sydney, with a History of Kenilworth Castle, including an account of the Splendid Entertainment given to Queen Elizabeth by the Earl of Leicester, in 1575, from the Works of Robert Laneham and George Gascoigne; together with Memoirs and Correspondence of Sir Robert Dudley, Son of the Earl of Leicester. By GEORGE ADLARD, author of "The Sutton-Dudleys of England," &c. 8vo, pp. 368, *with plates, cloth.* 12*s.*

Nichols, in the 2nd ed. of *Q. E. Prog.*, extracts nearly the whole of Burn's Preface and most of Burn's notes, with an acknowledgment.

Page xi. *Progresses.*—Here is Hall's account of Henry VIII's first, in 1510:—

"From thence the whole Courte remoued to Wyndesore, than begynnyng his progresse, exercisyng hym self daily in shoting, singing, dau*n*syng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, plaiyng at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songes, makyng of balettes, & dyd set .ii. goodly masses, euery of them fyue partes, whiche were sange oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwardes in diuerse other places. And whan he came to Okyng [? Woking] there were kept both Iustes and Turneys: the rest of thys progresse was spent in huntyng, hawkyng, and shotyng."—*Hall's Chronicle*, p. 515, ed. 1809.

Page xxxii, l. 19, and note [4]. *The boke of nurture.*—Jackson's edition of Hewe Rodes in 1577 was probably the sixth: "The Boke of Nurture, or Schoole of good maners for men Seruants and children, with Stans puer ad mensam. Newly corrected, &c." In my reprint I gave some collations of the second known edition, by Petyt,—from the imperfect copy in the Bodleian,—and of the

3rd known edition by Thomas Colwell, and the 4th by Abraham Veale, from Mr. Corser's unique copies, which he kindly lent me. Of the 5th edition by Thomas East in 1568, Lord Ashburnham has a copy, and I need not say that I have not seen it: he buys his books "for his own gratification, not for other people to look at." Of the first edition, about 1530, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt reports a copy to be in the possession of a Cornish gentleman, Mr. Robartes, "Imprynted at London in Southwarke by me Johan Redman." The 8th edition was perhaps 'The booke of Nurture' licensed to Thomas Easte on the 12th March, 1581–2.—Collier's *Extracts*, ii. 160.

Page xxxvii. *Olyuer of the Castl.*—Mr. F. W. Cosens says: In the Spanish translation of Ticknor by Gayangos and Védia, vol. i, p. 523, is the following note: "Of *El Rey Artus*, or more correctly, 'La historia de los nobles cavalleros Oliveros de Castilla y Artus de Algarve,' we have before us a copy printed at Burgos in 1499, an edition unknown to Mendez. It is in folio, with wood engravings. On the last leaf is printed, 'To the praise and glory of our redeemer Jesus Christ and of the blessed virgin Holy Mary. The present work was finished in the very noble and loyal city of Burgos the twenty-fifth day of May, year of our redemption 1499.' (In gothic letter, double columns.)

"Besides the editions cited by Brunet, 1501 and 1604, there is one by Cromberger, Seville, 20 November, 1510, folio, in double columns, without pagination, 34 leaves, Gothic letter (letra de tórtis), but of a different shape to that of the 1499 edition. In the earlier editions it is stated that the work was translated out of the Latin into the French tongue by "Felipe Comus," licenciado '*in utroque*,' but in those of the 18th and later it is attributed to a certain Pedro de la Floresta."

Page xliii.—No. XVI. *The Castle of Ladiez.* Mr. Hy. Huth has, with his usual kindness, lent me his copy of *The Cyte of Ladyes;* but there is nothing in it to identify it with Laneham's *Castle of Ladiez* except that it is all about virtuous ladies, and that the 'Cyte' in the woodcut on the title-page, before which two ladies stand, is that of a castle or large tower, perhaps part of the city-wall. The book is a translation of the French work of Cristine de Pise, printed in 1496, *Le trésor de la cité des dames (contenant plusieurs histoires et enseignemens notables aux roys, roynes, princesses et chevaliers, etc.) selon dame Cristine.* Colophon: "Cy finist le tresor . . . imprime a Paris, le viij iour daoust mil quatre cens quattre vingtz et xvij pour Anthoine Verard . . . in fol. goth."—Brunet. Cristine, taking up a book by Matheolus who did 'not speke well of the reuerence of women'—perhaps

> Le livre de Matheolus
> qui nous monstre sans varier

les biens et aussi les vertus
qui viennent pour soi marier etc. (Paris, 1492)—

'made grete mernayle . . . what myght be the cause, and wherof it myght come, that so many dyuers men, clerkes and others, haue ben, and ben, enclyned to say by mouthe / & in theyr treatyse and wrytynges, so many slaundres and blames of women and of theyr condycyons . . . that *the* condycyons of women ben fully enclyned to all vyces." Cristine, having examined herself 'as a woman naturall,' and discust the matter with her friends, is forct to the conclusion '*that* god made a foule thynge when he fourmed woman.' This troubles her much, and she dreams that three Ladies, Reason, Righteousness, and Justice, appear to her, argue against her conclusion, and say to her

We be come to tell the of a certayne buyldynge made in the manere of a cloystre of a Cyte strongely wrought by masons handes & well buylded / whiche is predestynate to thè for to make and to stable it by our helpe and counsayle / in the whiche shall none enhabyte but onely ladyes of good fame / and women worthy of praysynges. For to them where vertue shall not be founde / the walles of our Cyte shall be strongely shytte. (sign. Cc.j.)

The City is a metaphorical one; the foundations are to be dug with the pickaxe of understanding, by asking questions of Reason as to women's nature and state. Woman is shown to be 'ryght a noble thyng,' and Cato's unpolite remark 'that the woman *that* pleaseth a man naturally resembleth the rose, whiche is pleasaunt to se / but *the* thorne is vnder, & prycketh' is explained to mean, that a good woman 'is one of the plesauntest thynges *that* is to se,' but the thorn is only for herself, 'the thorne of drede to do amysse' (sign. Ee. j.). Many good women are then described, Mary the mother of Christ, 'Mary Magdaleyne & Martha her syster,' 'the Empresse Nychole and dyuers noble quenes and pryncesses of Fraunce, the quene Fredegonde, Semyramys, the Amozones, the quene of Amozonye (Thamaris). Howe the stronge Hercules & Theseus wente vpon the Amozones, and howe the .ij. ladyes Menalope and Ipolyte had almoost ouercome them (cap. 18). Of the quene Pantassylea, howe she wente to the socours of Troye; of Cenobye, quene of Palmurenes'; Lylye, mother of *that* good knyght Thyerrys; quene Fredegonde, the mayde Camylle, quene Veronycle of Capadoce, the noble Archemyse, quene of Carye, and of the hardynesse of Cleolis. Then of the women that were enlumyned of grete scyences: the noble mayde Cornyfye (cap. 28), Probe the Romayne, Sapho poete and phylosophre (cap. 30), the mayde Manthoa, Medea and another quene named Cyrtes. Then of the women that of themselves 'founde ony thynge . . . that was not knowne before: Nycostrate, otherwyse called Carmentis (cap. 33); Mynerue that founde many scyences / and the

manere to make Armoure of Iron and steele; the ryght noble quene Seres; and the noble quene Ises, that founde fyrste the crafte to make Orcharde, and to plante plantes. Then 'of the grete welthe that is come to the worlde by dyuers ladyes (cap. 37–8) . . the mayden Arenye, that founde the crafte to shere sheepe / to dresse the wolles / and to make clothe; Pamphyle, that founde the crafte to drawe sylke of the wormes (cap. 40); Thamar, that was a soueravne maystresse in the crafte of payntynge / and . . . Irayne; and Semproyne.' Next of the 'naturall prudence in woman: of Gaye Cyryle (cap. 45), Dydo quene of Cartage, Opys, Lauyne, doughter of the kynge Latyn.' These end the first Book, and Reason's talk to Cristine.

The second Book contains Ryghtwysnesse (or Righteousness)'s account of good women, those who are to form 'good buyldynge & hyghe palaces / royal & noble mansyons of these excellente ladyes of grete worshyp and renowne, [whi]che shal be lodged in this cyte / & shal abyde perpetually fro hens forth.' 1. those of soueravne dygnyte hyghly fulfylled of Sapyence,' the .x. Sybylles, also of Sybylle Erytee, and Sybylle Almethea; of dyuers ladyes (cap. 4), also of Nycostrate / and of Cassandra / and of *the* quene Basyne; of Anthoyne that became Empresse: of doughters that loued fader & moder, & fyrst of Drypetue (cap. 8), also of Isyphyle, of the vyrgyne Caudyne, of a woman that gaue her moder sowke in pryson (cap. 11). Next of the 'grete loue of women to theyr housbandes: of the quene Ipsytrace, the Empresse Tryarye, quene Archemyse; Argyue, doughter of *the* kynge Adrastus; the noble lady Agryppyne; the noble lady Julye, doughter of Julyus Cezar / & wyfe of the prynce Pompee (cap. 19); the noble lady Tyerce Emulyen; Zancyppe, wyfe of the phylosophre Socrates (cap. 21); Pompay paulyne, wyfe of seneke; the noble Sulpyce; also of dyuers ladyes togyder *that* respyted theyr housbandes from the dethe' (cap. 24). Next, how wrong it is to say that 'women can kepe no counsayle,' and here 'of Porcya, doughter of Catho; of the noble lady Curya,' and of a Roman woman in Nero's time. Then, what a mistake it is to 'say *that* a man is a fole *that* byleueth *the* counsayle of his wyfe, & taketh ony trust to it,' with instances 'of men to whom it hathe well sewed of byleuynge of theyr wyues' (cap. 29). Then 'of the grete welthe *that* is come to *the* worlde, & cometh all day, bycause of women. Also of Judyth the noble wydowe, quene Hester, the ladyes of Sabyne, Veturye,' and 'the quene of Fraunce, Clotylde. Also agaynst them *that* say *that* it is not good *that* women lerne letters . . and that there ben but fewe women chast; & speketh of Susan, of Sarra, Rebecca, Ruth, Penolope, Maryamyre, & of Anthoyne wyfe of Druse Tyber. Also agaynst them that saye *that* women wyll be wylfully rauysshed of men / ensamples dyuers / & fyrst of

Lucresse; also of *the* quene of Gawsgrees, *the* Sycambres & other maydens.' Next, against the inconstancy of women, Ryghtwysnesse cites examples 'of the inco*n*staunce of dyuers Emperors; also of Nero', Galba, and others. But of women's constancy, 'Grysylde, marquyse of Saluce, a stronge woman in vertue (cap. 50); Florence of Rome; and the wyfe of Barnabo the Geneuoys. Then, how it is not true that 'there are but fewe wome*n* praysable in the lyfe of loue;' citing 'Dydo, quene of Cartage, to the purpose of stable loue in a woman'; also Medea, Tysbe the mayde, Hero, Sysmonde doughter of the prynce of Salerne, Lyzabeth & other louers, Juno & other worshypful ladyes' (cap. 60). Next is an answer 'agaynst those *that* sayth *that* women draweth men to them by theyr Jolytees: Of Claudyne, woman of Rome;' yet 'Howe *that* he lyeth not *that* sayth *that* some women delyteth them in fayre clothynge or araye (cap. 63). Of quene Blaunche, moder of saynt Lewes, & other good wome*n* loued for theyr ver*t*ues.' Lastly, that women are not by nature 'scarce and covetouse' as witness '*the* ryche lady, & lyberall, Buyse; and pryncesses & ladyes of Fraunce' (cap. 67).

The Third Part 'speketh howe & by whome the hyghe batylmentes of *the* towres of *the* Cyte of Ladyes were perfourmed / & what noble ladyes were chosen for to dwelle in *the* hyghe & grete palays and hyghe dongeons.' They are the chief Women-Saints, described by the lady Justice: Mary, 'quene of heuen; the systers of oure Lady, Mary Magdaleyne, saynt(s) Katheryne, Margarete, Luce (of Rome), Martyne, Luce (of Syracuse), Justyne & other vyrgynes, the blessyd Theodosyne, Barbara, Dorothe, *Christ*ine; also dyuers sayntes whiche sawe theyr chyldren martyred before them; also saynt Maryne the vyrgyne, Eufrosyne, Anastase & her felawes,' and among the others, the iij. systers vyrgynes, Agappe, Thyonne, Hyrene (x. 6, back); saynt Theodore, the noble Athalye (or Natalye), saynt Affre,' and 'dyuers noble ladyes whiche serued & herboured *the* apostles & other dyuers say*n*tes' (cap. 18). Lastly, 'in *the* ende of this boke *Christ*ine speketh to the Ladyes,' telling them that 'nowe is our Cyte well accheued and made parfyte . . that the matter wherof it is made is all of vertue,' exhorting them to be humble, obedient, chaste, and pure, guarding themselves against the wiles of men, who strive to snare them 'as one dothe to take wylde beestes':—

> And thus that it please you, my ryght redoubted ladyes, to drawe to the vertues, and flee vyces, to encrease and multeplye our Cyte / and ye to reioyce in well doynge. And me, your seruaunt, to be recommended vnto you in praynge god, whiche by his grace in this worlde graunte me for to lyue / and perseuer in his holy seruyce / and at the ende to be pyteous to my grete defautes / and graunte bothe vnto you and me the Ioye whiche endure[th] euermore. Amen. ¶. Finis.

Surely a good book for Captain Cox and Robert Laneham to have. Let us believe that it was the Captain's *Castle of Ladiez.* Its colophon, under a woodcut of two women, and between borders, is "¶ Here endeth the thyrde and the last partye of the boke of the Cyte of Ladyes. ¶ Imprynted at London in Poules chyrchyarde at the sygne of the Trynyte by Henry Pepwell. In *the* yere of our lorde .M. CCCCC. xxj. The .xxvj. day of October. And the .xij. yere of the reygne of our souerayne lorde kynge Henry the .viij." On the back of the leaf is Pepwell's monogram, a large woodcut of the Trinity, with elaborate borders all round.

Page lxxxv. *The Ship of Foolz.*—Mr. W. Paterson of Princes St., Edinburgh, announces as in preparation a reprint of Alexander Barclay's *Shyp of Fooles* from Pynson's edition of 1509, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary by T. H. Jamieson, and 112 Woodcuts reproduced in facsimile from the Basle edition in Latin of 1497, by John T. Reid, Artist. (P.S. I am dismayed to see that Warton in his *History of English Poetry* (§ 28, vol. iii. p. 193, ed. Hazlitt, etc., 1871) has made the same extract from *The Ship of Fools* that I have. The Book-Fool tempted both Warton and me.)

Page cxxviii, *note* [1].—Here follows the moralized "Com ouer the Boorne, Besse," from Ritson's MS, which he gave to the British Museum.

[Addit. MS. 5665, leaf 143 back.]

Come ou*er* þ^e^ burn*e*, besse,
þou lytyll pr*a*ty besse!
com ou*er* the burne, besse, to me!

The burne is þis world*e* bly*n*de
& besse is ma*n*kynd*e*;
so pr*o*pyr I can none fynd*e* as she.

she dauncys & lepys,
& crist sto*n*dy*s* & clepys:
cu*m* ou*er* the burne, besse, to me!
Cu*m* ou*er* the burne, besse,
þou lytyll pr*a*ty besse,
cu*m* ou*er* the burne, besse, to me!

The original (says Mr. Chappell) is "A Songe betwene the Quenes Majestie and Eugland," a duet between England and Queen Elizabeth, under the name of Bessy. Each stanza consists

of four lines, and they are marked alternately E. and B. The first verse is:

"E. Come over the born, Bessy, come over the born, Bessy,
Swete Bessy come over to me,
And I shal the take, and my dere Lady make,
Before all other that ever I see."

23 verses. "Finis. q. Wylliam Birche." "Imprinted at London by William Pickeringe, dwellyng under Saynt Magnus Church." A copy in the library of the Society of Antiquaries. See Catalogue of Broadsides, p. 17.

Page cxxxii. *Bagford and the Caxton Prognostication.*—"Bagford's collection of printed Titles etc. (although mostly stolen from the Univ. Lib. Camb. and elsewhere) is certainly of value. His MS. Titles, and his remarks about Caxton and other printers, serve, as Dibdin truly said, only to mislead. His 'prodnostication,' printed by Caxton, 1493, is all fudge, like many other works he attributed to the same printer."—William Blades.

P. xxii, No. IV. *Beuys of Hampton.*—A shilling abstract in modern prose, *The Romance of Sir Bevis of S. Hamtoun, Newly done into English Prose from the Metrical Version of the Auchinleck MS, by Eustace H. Jones* has just been 'publisht by H. M. Gilbert xxxvij Bernard St. and A. Randle cxxxix & cxl High St. Southampton.' Mr. Jones doesn't know much about Early English, but his book may be handy to many who can't get at the original.

P. cxlii, No. 14. *Hercules.*—In Lilly's Sale Catalogue (Sotheby's, 1871) p. 139 is this entry: "1313. Hercules. The Birthe of Hercules. A Comedye. Manuscript of the XVIth Century, with directions for the actors in Latin and English on margins. Sæc. xvi (*circa* 1595). In all probability this is the first part of Martin Slaughter's Play of Hercules, said to have been acted in 1598 by the Lord Admiral's Servants, but of which no copy is now known."

A LETTER:

Whearin, part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Maiesty, at Killingwoorth Castl, in Warwik Sheer in this Soomerz Progress 1575. iz signified: from a freend officer attendant in the Coourt, vnto hiz freend a Citizen, and Merchaunt of London.

DE REGINA NOSTRA ILLVSTRISSIMA.

Dum laniata ruãt vicina ah Regna tumultu:
Læta suos inter genialibus ILLA diebus,
(*Gratia Dijs*) *fruitur: Rũpantur & ilia Codro.*

VNTOO MY GOOD FREEND, MAster Humfrey Martin, Mercer.

AFter my hartie commendacionz, I commende mee hartily too yoo. Vnderstande yée, that sins throogh God & good fréends, I am placed at Coourt héer (as yée wot) in a woorshipfull[1] room: whearby I am not onlie acquainted with the most, and well knoen too the best, and euery officer glad of my company: but also haue poour, a dayz, (while the Councell sits not,) to go and too sée things sight worthy, and too bée prezent at any sheaw or spectacl, only whear this Progresse reprezented vnto her highness: And of part of which sportez, hauing takin sum notez and obseruationz, (for I can not bée idl at ony hand in the world,) az well too put fro me suspition of sluggardy, az too pluk from yoo doout of ony my forgetfulnes of fréendship: I haue thought it méet too impart them vntoo yoo, az frankly, az fréendly, and az fully az I can. Well wot yée the blak Prins[2] waz neuer stained with disloyaltee of ingratitude towarde ony: I* dare bee his warrant hee will not beginne with yoo, that hath at hiz hand so déeply dezerued.

[*p. 2.]

But héerin, the better for conceyning of my minde, and instruction of yoors, ye must gyue mee leaue a littl, az well to preface vntoo my matter, az to discoors sumwhat of Killyngwoorth Castl. A Territory of the right honorabl, my singular good Lord, my Lord the Earl of Leyceter: of whooz incomparabl cheeryng and enterteynment thear vntoo her Maiesty noow, I will shew yoo a part heer, that coold not sée all; nor had I seen all, coold well report the hallf: Whear thynges, for the parsons, for the place, time, cost, deuisez, straungnes, and aboundauns, of all that euer I sawe (and yet haue I been, what vnder my Master Bomsted, and what on my oun affayres, whyle I occupied Merchaundize, both in Frauns and Flaunders long and many a day,) I saw none ony where so memorabl, I tell you plain.

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[1] *Orig.* worwipfull.

[2] Laneham. See his signature, *El Prencipe Negro* at the end. Perhaps the gn of his shop.—*J. H. Burn*, 1821.

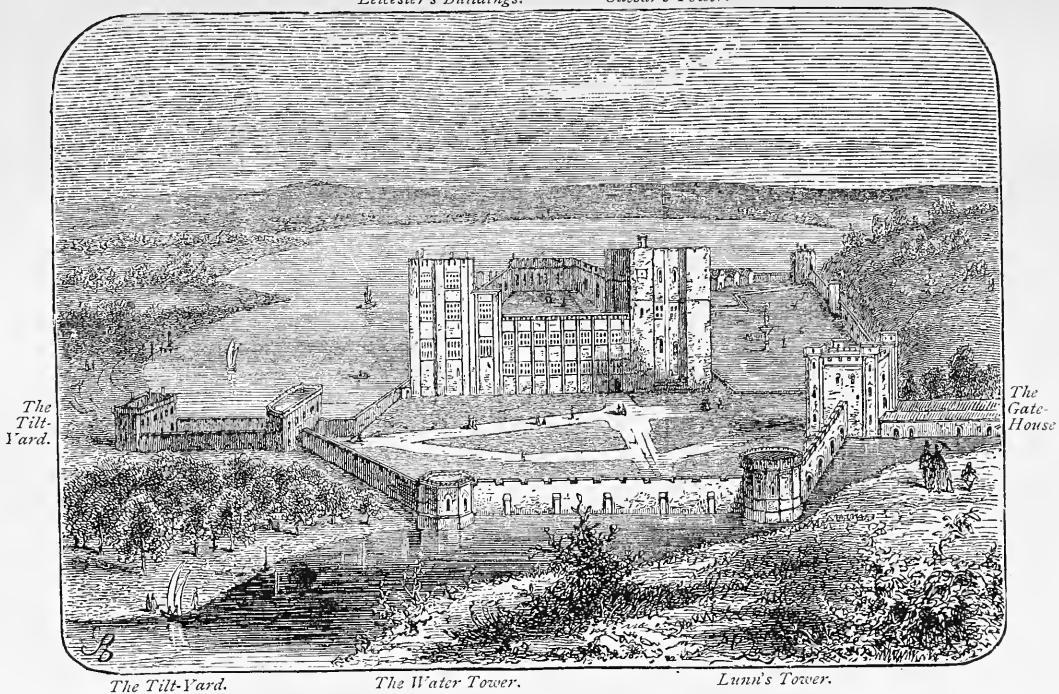
Killing-woorth Castl.

The Castl hath name of Killingwoorth, but of truth grounded vppon feythfull storie, Kenelwoorth. It stonds in Warwykshyre, a lxxiiii. myle north-west from London, and az it wear in the Nauell of
[†p. 3.] Englande†, foure myle sumwhat south from Couentree, (a proper Cittee,) and a lyke distauns from Warwyk, a fayre Sheere Toun on the North: In ayr sweet and hollsum, raised on an eazy mounted hill, iz sette eeuenlie coasted with the froont straight intoo the East, hath the tenaunts and Tooun about it, that pleasantly shifts from dale too Hyll, sundry whear wyth sweet Springs bursting foorth: and iz so plentifullie well sorted on euery side, intoo arabl, meado, pasture, wood, water, & good ayrz, az it appeerz to haue need of nothing that may perteyn too liuing or pleazure. Too auauntage[1] hath it, hard on the West, still nourisht with many liuely Springs, a goodly Pool of rare beauty, bredth, length, deapth, and store of all kinde freshwaterfish, delicat, great, and fat, and also of wildfooul byside. By a rare situacion and natural amitee seemz this Pool conioynd to the Castlz, that on the West layz the head (az it wear) vpon the Castlz boosom, embraceth it on either side, Soouth [a]nd North, with both the armz, settlz it self az in a reach a flight-shoot brode[2], stretching foorth body and legs a myle or too Westward: between a fayre Park on the one side, which by
[§p. 4.] the §Braiz[3] is linked too the castl on the South, sprinckled at *th*e entrauns with a feaw Coonyez, that for colour and smallnes of number séem too bée suffered more for pleasure then co*m*moditée: And on *th*e oother side, North and West, a goodlie Chase: wast, wyde, large, and full of red Déer and oother statelie gamez for hunting: beautified with manie delectabl, fresh & vmbragioous Boow[r]z, Arberz, Seatz, and walks, that with great art, cost, & diligens, wear very pleazauntly appointed: which also

[1] *Orig.* anauntage.

[2] This passage may have two significations: One derived from the same expression which Laneham uses when speaking of the fire-works (p. 12), in which place it is understood to mean a flying shot, or one discharged from a mortar. The other . . supposing that a *flight* signified a small arrow; in contradistinction to shafts, quarrels, bolts, and piles. The latter of these is, however, the most probable, as the pool itself was not more than 300 ft. in breadth. —*Burn*, p. 94; *Nichols*, i. 427 (edit. 1823).

[3] The old military word for an outwork defended by palisades, with watch-towers at intervals, to protect sentinels. See Le Duc, under *braie*.—E. H. Knowles. The Park at Kenilworth was separated from the Castle on the South side by a part of the pool.—*Burn*, p. 94; *Nichols*, i. 427.



A Reconstruction of Kenilworth Castle as in A.D. 1620.

The Entrance through the Gallery Tower, Tilt-Yard, and Mortimer's Tower, on the left, are not shown.

the naturall grace by the tall and fresh fragrant treez & soil did so far foorth commend, az Diana her selfe might haue deyned thear well enough too raunge for her pastime. The leaft arme of this pool Northward, had my Lorde adooourned with a beautifull bracelet of a fayr tymbred bridge[1], that iz of xiiii. foot wide, and a six hundred foot long: railed all on both sidez, strongly planked for passage, reaching from the Chase too the Castl: that thus in the midst hath clear prospect ouer théez pleasurz on the[2] backpart: and forward, ouer all the Toun, and mooch of the Countree beside. Héertoo, a speciall commoditee at hand of sundrie quarreiz of large building stone, the goodnes whearof may the ‖eazlyar be iudged in the bilding and auncienty of the [‖p. 5.] Castl, that (az by the name & by storiez, well may be gathered) waz first reared by Kenulph, and hiz young sun and successor Kenelm[3]: born both indeed Florileg. fo. 221. & 225. within the Ream héer, but yet of the race of Saxons: and reigned kings of Marchlond from the yeer of oour Lord .798. too .23. yéerz toogyther, aboue 770. yéer ago. Although the Castl hath one auncient, strong and large Kéep, that iz called Ceazarz Tour, rather (az I haue good cauz to think) for that it iz Guil. Malmesb. li. 1. square and hye foormed, after the maner of Cezarz Fortz, then that euer he bylt it.

Nay, noow I am a littl in, Master Martin, ile tell you all.

This Marchlond, that Storyerz call Mercia, iz numbred in their bookes, the foourth[4] of the seauen Kingdomes that the Saxans had whilom heer diuided among them in the Ream. Began in Anno Domi. 616. 139. yéer after Horsins[5] and Engist continued in the race of a 17. Kings a .249. yéer togyther: and ended in Ann. 875. Reyzed from the rest (sayz the book) at first by Pendaz prezumption[6]: ouerthroun at

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[1] See *Notes* at the end.

[2] *Orig.* &.

[3] This is all gammon. "Sir William Dugdale says, that the land on which the Castle is situate was given by King Henry I. to a Norman, named Geoffry de Clinton, his Lord Chamberlain and Treasurer, by whom the building was first erected."—Note in *Gascoigne's Prine. Pleas*, ed. 1821, p. 81.

[4] Robert Manning of Brunne makes it the *sixth*:—

> þe syxte was Merce, now ys Lyndeseye,
> þe hed toun þer to Lyncolne lay.
> *Stori of Inglande*, l. 14761–2, vol. ii. p. 512, ed. 1871, *F. J. F*

[5] Another copy reads 'Horsus,' *rectius* Horsa.—*Nichols*, 1788, i. 428.

[6] See *Notes* at the end.

last by Buthreds Hascardy[1], and so fel to the kingdoom of the West Saxons.

[*p. 6.] Mercia. *And Marchlond had in it, London, Mildelsex,—héerin a Bishoprik;—Had more of Shyrez[2]: Gloceter, Woorceter, and Warwik,—and héerin a Bishoprik;—Chester (that noow we call Chesshyre), Darby, and Staffoord,—whervntoo one Bishop, that had also part of Warwik and Shrewsbery, and hiz See at Couentree, that waz then aforetime at Lychfeeld.—Héertoo: Hereford, (wherin a Bishoprik, that had more too iurisdiction, half Shreusbury, part of Warwik, and also of Gloceter, and the See at Hereford;)—Also had Oxford, Buckingham, Hertford, Huntingdon, and halfe of Bedford, and too theez, Northampton[3], part of Lecyter and also Lincoln, (whearvnto a Bisshop, whoz See at Lincoln Citee, that sumtime before waz at Dorchester.) Héerto, the rest of Leyceter & in Nottingham, that of olld had a speciall Bishop, whooz See waz at Leyceter, but after, put to the charge of the Archbishop of Yorke.

Noow touching the name, that of olld Recordes I vnderstand, and of auncient writers I finde, iz calld Kenelworth. Syns most of the Worths in England stand ny vntoo like lakez, and ar eyther small Ilandz, such one az the seat of this

[†p. 7.] Vpon Tacit fol. 142. †Castl hath béen, & eazly may bee, or is londground by pool or riuer, whearon willoz, alderz, or such like doo gro: which Althamerus[4] writez precizely that the Germains cal Werd: Ioyning these too togither, with the nighness allso of the woords, and sybred[5] of the toongs, I am the bolder to pronoouns, that az our English Woorth,[6] with the rest of our auncient langage, waz leaft vs from the Germains:

The Germains call *werk*, that we woork. *Werlt*: woorld.

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[1] Hask, harsh, Linc.: *Bailey*. 'Hask, coarse, harsh, rough': *Brockett*. 'An Haskarde, proletarius, ignobilis': *Levins*. 'Haskerde, a rough fellow': *Dekker*. 'Vilane hastarddis' [*for* hascarddis]. Percy's Rel. p. 25.—*Halliwell*.

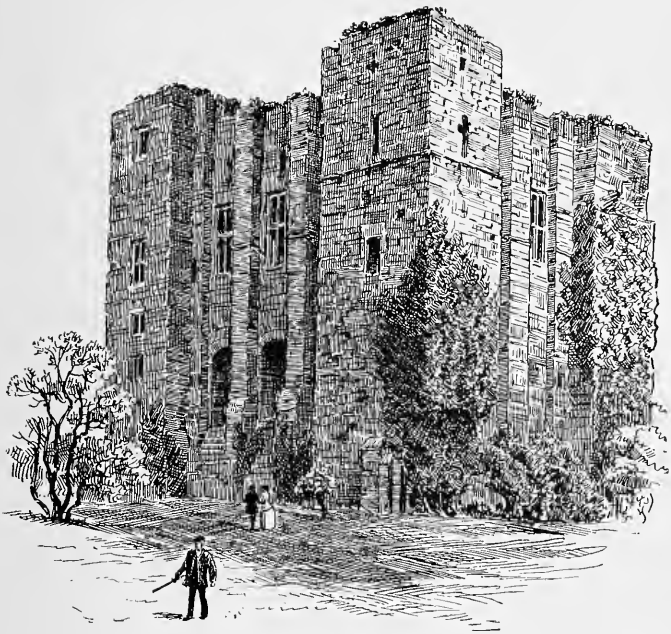
[2] See these (save Middlesex and Hertford) in English of ab. 1300 A.D. in the Life of St. Kenelm, in my *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*, p. 48–9, l. 21–42. Mercia is there called 'þe march of Wales.'

[3] *Orig.* Norhnmpton.

[4] Andrew Althamer, a Lutheran minister of Nuremberg, who lived about 1560; he wrote several controversial works, and some valuable notes on Tacitus, from which the passage in the text is taken. See *Dictionnaire Universel.*—*Burn*, p. 95; *Nichols*, i. 429.

[5] A. Sax. *sibræden*, consanguinity.

[6] The termination *Worth*, which is mentioned in the text to signify land situate by water, is more properly derived from the Saxon þorþ, a court or farm; and hence the place was originally denominated Kenelm's Worth, or the Court of Kenelm.—*Burn*, p. 95; *Nichols*, i. 429.



Caesar's Tower, Kenilworth Castle.

Wermut: woormwood. *So viel wert:* So much woorth.

éeuen so that their Werd and our Woorth is all one thing in sign[i]fiauns, common too vs both, éen at this day. I take the case so cléer, that I say not az mooch as I moought. Thus proface ye[1] with the Preface. And noow to the matter.

ON Saterday the nyenth of Iuly, at long Ichington, a Toun and Lordship of my Lord's, within a seauen[2] myle of Killingworth, hiz honor made her Maiesty great chéer at Dinner, and pleazaunt pastime in hunting by the wey after, that it was eight a clock in *the* euening ear her highness came too Killingwoorth. Whear, in the Park, about a flight-shoot from the Brayz, & first gate of the Castl, one of *the* ten Sibills, that (wée réed) wear all Fatidicæ and Theobulæ§, (az partiez and priuy too the Gods gracious good wilz,) cumly clad in a pall[3] of white sylk, pronounced a proper poezi in English rime and méeter[4]: of effect, hoow great gladnesse her goodnesse prezenze[5] brought into euerie steed[6] whear it pleazed her too cum, and speciall now into that place that had so long longed after the same: ended with prophesie certain, of mooch and long prosperitée, health, and felicitée: this, her Maiestie beningly accepting[7], passed fooorth vntoo the next gate of the Brayz, which (for the length, largenes and vse, az well it may so serue,) they call noow the Tyltyard, whear a Porter, tall of person, big of lim, & stearn of coountinauns, wrapt also all in silke, with a club & keiz of quanti-

Sibyl. [§p. 8.]

The Porter.

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[1] That is, 'I.'

[2] Another copy erroneously states this town to be only three miles distant from Kenilworth. In Dr. Thomas's edition of Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, Lond. 1730, vol. i. p. 345, it is related that at the period mentioned in the text, "the Earl of Leicester gave the Queen a glorious entertainment here, in her passage to Kenilworth Castle, erecting a tent of extraordinary largeness for that purpose, the pins belonging whereto amounted to seven cart-loads; by which the magnificence thereof may be guessed at." Laneham also subsequently notices this circumstance, when speaking of the preparations for the Queen's reception at Kenilworth (p. 56 below).—*Burn*, p. 95 (from Nichols's first edition of 1788, vol. i. p. 5); *Nichols*, ed. 1823, vol. i. p. 429.

[3] A long and large upper mantle was denominated a pall, from the Latin *pallium*, or *palla*, a cloak. The great mantle worn by the Knights of the Garter, is by ancient writers called *pallium*.—*Burn*, p. 95; *Nichols*, i. 430.

[4] These verses, written by Mr. Hunnis, Master of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel, are the first in Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures*, p. 3–4, ed. 1821.

[5] Another copy reads "gracious presence."—*Nichols*, i. 430.

[6] *Stead* is from the Saxon *Stede*, a room or place. See Somner.—*Burn*, p. 96; *Nichols*, i. 430.

[7] *Orig.* accepning.

tée according, had a rough speech, full of passions, in méeter aptly made to the purpose: whearby (az her highnes was cum within his warde) hée burst out in a great pang of impatiens[1] to sée such vncooth trudging too and fro, such riding in and out, with such dyn and noiz of talk within the charge of his offis: whearof hee neuer saw the like, nor had any warning afore, ne yet coold make too himselfe any cauze of the matter: at last, vpon better vieu and auisement†, as hee preast too cum neerar: confessing anon that hee found him self pearced at the prezens of a personage so euidently expressing an heroicall Soueraintee ouer all the whole estates & hy degréez thear besyde, callmd hiz stoniz[2], proclaims open gates and frée passage to all, yéelds vp hiz club, hiz keyz[3], hiz office, and all, and on hiz knéez humbly prayz pardon of hiz ignorauns and impaciens: which her highnes graciouslie grauntıng, he cauzd hiz Trumpetoourz that stood vppon the wall of the gate thear, too soound vp a tune of welcum: which, besyde the nobl noyz, was so mooch the more pleazaunt too behold, becauz théez Trumpetoourz, beeing sixe in number, wear euery one an eight foot hye[4], in due proportion of parson besyde, all in long garments of sylk sutabl, eache with hiz syluery Trumpet of a fiue foot long, foormed Taperwyse, and straight from the vpper part vntoo the neather eend, whear the Diameter was a 16. ynchez ouer, and yet so tempered by art, that being very eazy too the blast, they cast foorth no greater noyz, nor a more vnpleazaunt soound for time and tune, then any oother common Trumpet, bee it neuer so artificially* foormed. Theese armonious blasterz,—from the foreside of the gate at her highnes entrauns whear they began, walking vpon the wallz, vntoo the inner,—had this muzik mainteined from them very delectably while her highness all along this tiltyard rode vnto the inner gate next the base coourt of the Castl: where the Lady of the Lake (famous in King Arthurz book[1]) with too Nymphes waiting vppon her, arrayed all in sylks, attending her highness comming: from the midst of the Pool, whear, vpon a moouabl Iland, bright blazing with

[†p. 9.]

The Trumpetoours.

[*p. 10.]

Lady of the Lake.

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[1] See *Notes* at end. [2] Astonishment. [3] *Orig.* heyz.

[4] Sham ones with sham trumpets, but real men and trumpets behind. See p. 5 of *Gascoigne's Pr. Pleas.*

torches, she, floting to land, met her Maiesty with a well penned meter and matter[1] after this sort: first of the auncientée of the Castl,—whoo had been ownerz of the same éen till this day, most allweyz in the hands of the Earls of Leyceter,—hoow shée had kept this Lake sins king Arthurz dayz, and now, vnderstanding of her highness hither cumming, thought it both office and duetie in humbl wize to discouer her and her estate: offering vp the same, her Lake and poour therein, with promise of repayre vnto the Coourt. It pleozed her highness too thank this Lady, & too ad withall, "we had thought indéed the Lake had been oours,
[*p. 11.] and doo you *call it yourz noow? Wel, we will héerin common more with yoo héerafter."

This Pageaunt waz clozd vp with a delectable harmony of Hautboiz[2], Shalmz[3], Cornets[4], and such oother looud muzik,

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[1] Verses printed in Gascoigne's *Princely Pleasures*, p. 7–9, ed. 1821, and 'devised and penned by M. Ferrers, sometime Lord of Misrule in the Court.' —*Nichols*, i. 431.

[2] Straight wooden wind-instruments, with holes down the front, and conical ends, blown through reed mouthpieces at the top. See *Notes* at the end.

[3] *Shalmz.* See Chappell's *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, i. 35, note *b.* "A very early drawing of the Shalm or Shawm, is in one of the illustrations to a copy of Froissart, in the Brit. Mus.—*Royal MSS.* 18 E. Another in Commenius' *Visible World*, translated by Hoole, 1650, (he translates the Latin word *gingras*, shawm,) from which it is copied into Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, edited by Singer, vol. i. p. 114, ed. 1825. The modern clarionet is an improvement upon the shawm, which was played with a quill, or reed, like the wayte, or hautboy, but being a bass instrument, with about the compass of an octave, had probably more the tone of a bassoon. It was used on occasions of state. 'What *stately* music have you? You have shawms? Ralph plays a stately part, and he must needs have shawms.'—*Knight of the Burning Pestle.* Drayton speaks of it as shrill-toned: 'E'en from the *shrillest shawm*, unto the cornamute.'—*Polyolbion*, vol. iv. p. 376. I conceive the shrillness to have arisen from over-blowing, or else the following quotation will appear contradictory:—

> '*A Shawme* maketh a *swete sounde*, for he *tunythe the basse*,
> It mountithe not to hye, but *kepithe rule and space.*
> Yet *yf it be blown withe to vehement a wynde*,
> It *makithe it to mysgoverne out of his kynde.*'

"This is one of the 'proverbis' that were written about the time of Henry VII., on the walls of the Manor House at Leckingfield, near Beverley, Yorkshire, anciently belonging to the Percys, Earls of Northumberland, but now destroyed. There were other proverbs relating to music and musical instruments (harp, lute, recorder, claricorde, clarysymballis, virgynalls, clarion, organ, singing, and musical notation), and the inscribing them on the walls adds another to the numberless proofs of the estimation in which the art was held. A manuscript copy of them is preserved in MS. Bibl. Reg. 18, D. 11, Brit. Mus."

[4] Among Henry VIII.'s instruments were "Gitteron Pipes of ivory or wood, called *Cornets.*" The Cornet described by Mersenne (the French writer on musical instruments) is of a bent shape like the segment of a large circle

that held on while her Maiestie pleazauntly so passed from thence toward the Castl gate: whearunto, from the baze Coourt, ouer a dry valley cast into a good foorm, waz thear framed a fayre Bridge of a twentie foot wide, and
The bridge. a seauenty foot long, graueld for treading, railed
Seauen pair of posts. on either part with seauen posts on a side, that stood a twelue foot a sunder, thikned betweene with well proportioned Pillars turnd.

Vpon the first payr of posts were set too cumly square wyre cagez, each a thrée foot long, too foot wide and hy: in them, liue Bitters, Curluz, Shoouelarz, Hearsheawz[1], Godwitz, and such like deinty Byrds, of the prezents of
Syluanus prezents. Syluanus, the God of foul.

On the second payr, too great Syluerd Bollz, featly apted too the purpoze, filde with Applz, Pearz, Cherriz, Filberdz, Walnuts, fresh vpon their braunchez, and with Oringes, Poungarnets[2], Lemmanz, and Pipinz, all for the
Pomona. giftz of Pomona, Goddes of frui[t]ez.

[†p. 12.] The third pair of posts, in too such syluerd† Bollz, had (all in earz, gréen and old) Wheat, Barly,
Ceres. 3. Ootz, Beanz, and Peaz, az the gifts of Ceres.

The fourth Post on the leaft hand, in a like syluered Boll, had Grapes in Clusters, whyte and red, gracified with their Vine leauez: the match post against it had a payree of great whyte syluer lyuery Pots for wyne: and before them two glassez of good capacitie filld full: the ton with whyte Wine, the two other with claret: so fresh of coolor, and of looke so louely smiling to the eyz of many, that by my feith mee thought by their léering they could haue foound in their harts (az the euening was hot) to haue kist them swéetlie, and thought it no sin: and théez for the potencial pre-
Bacchus. 4. zents of Bacchus the God of wine.

The fift payr had, each a fair large trey streawd a littl[3] with fresh grass, and in them, Coonger[4], Burt[5], Mullet,

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gradually tapering from the bottom to the mouthpiece. The cornet was of a loud sound, but in skilful hands could be modulated so as to resemble the tones of the human voice.—*Chappell*, i. 248, note *a*: see also p. 631.

[1] Bitterns, curlews, shovellers, heronshaws (or herons). [2] Pomegranates.

[3] Nichols, copying a Bodleian edition, leaves out 'a littl:' ed. 1788, vol. i. p. 9.

[4] *Conger* is nothing but a sea-eele, of a white, sweet, and fatty flesh: little Congers are taken in great plenty in the Severn, betwixt Glocester and Tewkesbury, but the great ones keep onely in the salt seas, which are whiter-flesht and more tender.—Dr. Bennet's ed. of Muffett's *Healths Improvement*, p. 149.

[5] Fr. *Limaude*, f. A Burt or Bret fish.—*Cotgrave.* '*Rhombi.* Turbuts . . some

fresh Herring, Oisters, Samon, Creuis[1], and such like, from Neptunus, God of the Sea.

Neptunus. 5.

On the sixth payr of Posts wear set two ragged stauez[2] of syluer, as my Lord giuez them in armz, beautifully glittering of armour thereupon depending, Bowz, Arroz, Spearz, Shéeld, Head pées, Gorget, Corse-†lets, Swoords, Targets, and such like, for Mars gifts, the God of war. And the aptlyer (me thought) waz it that thooz ragged staues supported théez Martiall prezents, as well becauz théez staues by their tines[3] séem naturallie méete for the bearing of armoour, as also that they chiefly in this place might take vpon them principall protection of her highnes Parson, that so benignly pleazed her to take herbour.

[†p. 13.]

Mars. 6.

On the seauenth Posts[4], the last and next too the Castl, wear thear pight[5], too faer Bay braunchez of a fourfoot hy, adourned on all sides with Lutes, Viollz, Shallmz[6], Cornets, Flutes, Recorders[7] and Harpes, as the prezents of Phœbus, the God of Muzik, for reioysing the mind, and also of Phizik, for health to the body.

Phœbus. 7.

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call the Sea-Pheasant . . whilst they be young . . they are called *Butts*.'—Muffett, p. 173, in *Babees Book*, p. 167, and see p. 231 *ib.*

[1] Crayfish, or crab. See *Babees Book*, pp. 158, 159, 166, 174, 216, 231, 281.

[2] The Ragged Staff was the well-known badge of the house of the king-maker Warwick.—See my *Political Religious and Love-Poems* (E. E. Text Soc. 1866) p. xii and 3:—

> An R. for *þe Raged staf* þat no man may askape;
> from Scotlonde to Calles þerof they stonde in awe;
> he is a stafe of stedfastnes bothe erly and latte
> To chastes siche kaytifes as don against þe lawe.

Also the passage there quoted from the Cotton Rolls, ii. 23, in Wright's *Political Songs*, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 222:—

> The Bere (Warwik) is bound that was so wild,
> ffor he hath lost his *ragged staffe*.

Elizabeth's entertainer, Sir Robert Dudley, K.G., Earl of Leicester, was the younger son of John Dudley, 19th Earl of Warwick, created Duke of Northumberland, 11th Oct. 1551, K.G. attainted and beheaded 1553.—*Nicolas's Peerage*, p. 369, 678.

[3] *tines*, short pricks of an antler, prongs of a fork.

[4] t. i. pair of posts.

[5] Pitched, placed: pret. of *piechen* to pitch, fix.

[6] See note, p. 7.

[7] See "The Genteel Companion for the Recorder," by Humphery Salter, 1683. Recorders and (English) Flutes are to outward appearance the same, although Lord Bacon, in his *Natural History*, cent. iii. sec. 221, says the Recorder hath a less bore, and a greater above and below. The number of holes for the fingers is the same, and the scale, the compass, and the manner of playing, the same. Salter describes the *recorder* from which the instrument derives its name, as situate in the upper part of it, *i. e.* between the hole below the mouth, and the highest hole for the finger. He says, "Of the kinds of

Ouer the Castl gate was there fastened a Tabl, beautifully garnisht aboue with her highness armes, and featlie with Iuy wreathz boordred aboout: of a ten foot square: the ground blak, whearupon, in large white Capitall Roman, fayr written, a Poem mencioning théez Gods and their giftes thus prezented vntoo her highness: which, becauz it remained vnremooued, at leyzure & pleaze[1] I took it oout, as foloeth:

[p. 14.] *AD MAIESTATEM REGIAM.*[2]

Iupiter huc certos cernens TE *tendere gressus,*
Cœlicolas PRINCEPS *actutum conuocat omnes:*
Obseqvium prœstare iubet TIBI *quenque benignum.*
Vnde suas Syluanus aues, Pomonaque fructus,
Alma Ceres fruges, hilarantia vina Liœus,
Neptunus Pisces, tela & tutantia Mauors,
Suaue melos Phœbus, solidam longamque salutem.
Dij TIBI REGINA *hæc* (*cum* SIS DIGNISSIMA) *prebent:*
Hæc TIBI *cum Domino dedit se & werda Kenelmi.*

All the letterz that mention her Maiesty, which héer I put capitall, for reuerens and honor, wear thear made in golld.

But the night well spent, for that théez versez by Torchlight coold not easily bée read, by a Poet thearfore in a long ceruleoous[3] garment, with a side[4] and wide sléeuez Vene-

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music, vocal has always had the preference in esteem and in consequence, the Recorder, *as approaching nearest to the sweet delightfulness of the voice*, ought to have first place in opinion, as we see by the universal use of it confirmed." The Hautboy is considered now to approach most nearly to the human voice, and Mr. Ward, the military instrument manufacturer, informs me that he has seen "old English Flutes" with a hole bored through the side, in the upper part of the instrument, the holes being covered with a thin piece of skin, like gold-beater's skin. I suppose this would give somewhat the effect of the quill or reed in the Hautboy, and that these were Recorders. In the proverbs at Leckingfield (quoted *ante*, note *b*, p. 35), the Recorder is described as "desiring" the mean part, but manifold fingering and stops bringeth high (notes) from its clear tones. This agrees with Salter's book. He tells us the high notes are produced by placing the thumb *half* over the hole at the back, and blowing a little stronger. Recorders were used for teaching birds to pipe.—*Chappell's Pop. Music*, i. 246, note *a*. See *Notes* at the end.

[1] ? not *pleasure*, but *place*: 'time and place suiting.'

[2] We learn from Gascoigne (*Princely Pleasures*, p. 10–11) that these verses were written by M. Paten.—*Nichols*, i. 433.

[3] Azure-blue, or sky-colour, from the Latin *cerulcus*. Anciently, blue dresses were worn by all servants.—See Strutt. *Burn*, p. 97; *Nichols*, i. 434.

[4] *Side*, or *syde*, in the North of England, and in Scotland, is used for *long*,

cian wize[1], drawen vp to his elboz, his Dooblet sleeuez vnder that, Crimzen, nothing but silke: a Bay garland on hiz head, and a skro[2] in his hand, making first an humble obeizaunz at her highness cummyng, and pointing vntoo euerie prezent az hée spake: the same wear pronounced.[3] Pleazauntly thus viewing the giftes az †she past, & hoow the posts might agrée with the spéech of the Poet, at *the* éend of *the* bridge & entrée of the gate waz her highnes receiued with a fresh delicate armony of Flutz, in perfourmauns of Phœbus prezents. [†p. 15.]

So passing intoo the inner Coourt, her Maiesty (that neuer ridez but alone) thear set doun from her Pallfree, waz

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when applied to the garment; and the word has the same signification in Anglo-Saxon and Islandic or Danish:—

"The Erle Jamys with his Rowte hale
Thare gert stent thare Pavillownys,
And for the Hete tuk on *syd* Gwnys."
Wyntown's Chronicle, vol. ii. 339.

The wide and long-pocketed sleeve, called by heralds the *manche*, was much in fashion in the reign of Henry IV. Stowe, in his Chronicle, p. 327, temp. Henry IV., says, "This time was used exceeding pride in garments, gownes with deepe and broade sleeves commonly called poke sleves, the servants ware them as well as their masters, which might well have been called receptacles of the devil, for what they stole, they hid in their sleeves, whereof some hung down to the feete, and at least to the knees, full of cuts and jagges. Again, in Fitzherbert's "Book of Husbandrie," is the following passage:—

"Theyr cotes be so *syde* that they be fayne to tucke them up when they ride, as women do theyr kyrtels when they go to the market."

Of these Hoccleve, a master of that age, says:—

Nor has this land less need of brooms
To sweep the filth out of the street,
Sen *side-sleeves* of pennyless grooms
Will lick it up be't dry or wet.
Camden's *Remains;* Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, xv. No. II. § 51.—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, Appendix, p. 11; and *Nichols*, i. 434.

[1] Cp. on the enormously wide Venetian breeches or hose, Stubbes's *Anatomie*, in Nares, and the eleventh song in Thomas Heywood's Rape of Lucrece:—

The Spaniard loves his ancient slop,
The Lumbard his *Venetian*.
Percy MS. Loose Songs, p. 76.

The wide sleeve is spoken of by Peacham, says Fairholt (*Costume in England*, p. 211, note), '"the wide saucy sleeve that would be in every dish before their master, with buttons as big as tablemen;" similar to the "men" now used for draughts.' 'Peacham also tells us that "long stockings without garters, then was the Earl of Leicester's fashion, and theirs who had the handsomest leg."'

[2] scroll.

[3] Gascoigne gives 13 other lines of Latin verse,—different from Mr. Paten's,—which he says 'were devised by Master Muncaster. . . I am not very sure whether these or Master Paten's were pronounced by the Author, but they were all to one effect.'—*Princely Pleasures*, ed. 1821, p. 11.

conueied vp to chamber: when after, did follo so great a peal of gunz, and such lightning by fyr work a long space toogither, as Iupiter woold sheaw himself too bee no further behind with hiz welcum, then the rest of hiz Gods: and that woold hee haue all the countrie to kno: for indeed the noiz and flame wear heard and séene a twenty myle of. Thus much, Master Martin, (that I remember me) for the first daiz 'Bien venu.' Be yée not wery, for I am skant in the midst of my matter.

Sunday. On Sunday: the forenoon occupied (az for the Sabot day) in quiet and vacation from woork, & in diuine seruis & preaching at the parish church: The afternoon, in excelent muzik of sundry swet instruments, and in dauncing[1] of Lordes and Ladiez, and oother woorshipfull de-
[†page 16.] grées, vttered with such liuely agilitee & commendabl grace, †az, whither it moought be more straunge too the eye, or pleazunt too the minde, for my part indéed I coold not discern: but excéedingly well waz it (me thought) in both.

At night late, az though Iupiter the last night had forgot for biziness, or forborn for curtezy & quiet, part of hiz wellcoom vntoo her highness appointed: noow entring[2] at the fyrst intoo hiz purpoze moderately (az mortallz doo) with a warning péec or too, proceding on with encres; at last the Altitonant displeaz[3] me hiz mayn poour: with blaz of burning darts, flying too & fro, leamz[4] of starz coruscant, streamz and hail of firie sparkes, lightninges of wildfier a water and loud, flight & shoot of thunderboltz: al with such countinauns, terror, and vehemencie, that the heauins thundred, the waters soourged, the earth shooke: and in such sort surly, az, had we not bee[n] assured of[5] the fulmieant deitée waz all hot in amitée, and could not otherwize witnesse hiz welcomming vnto her highnesse, it woold haue made mee,

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[1] Compare Stubbes on dancing on Sundays. "But other some spend the sabaoth day for the most part in frequenting of baudie stage-playes and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of Misrule (for so they call a certaine kinde of play which they use), may-games, church-ales, feasts, and wakesses: in pyping, *dauncing*, dicing, carding, bowling, tennisse-playing; in beare-bayting, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting, and such like . . . *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1st ed. 1583, Collier's *reprint*, p. 130. See also Stubbes's most amusing chapter on "The horrible Vice of pestiferous dauncing, used in Ailgna," *ib.* p. 150–168; and his next chapter "Of Musick in Ailgna, and how it allureth to vanitie," p. 168–172.

[2] *Orig.* entrins.

[3] displays.

[4] A. Sax. *leóma*, a ray of light, a beam, light, flame.—*Bosworth*.

[5] ? that.

for my part, az hardy az I am, very veangeably afeard. This a-doo lasted while [t]he midnight waz past, that well waz mee soon after when I waz cought[1] in my Cabayn. And [†page 17.] thiz for †the secund day.

Munday, 3. Munday waz hot; and thearfore her highnesse kept in a till a fiue a clok in the éeuening: what time it pleazzd her too ryde foorth into the Chase[2] too hunt the Hart of fors[3]: which foound anon, and after sore chased, and chafed by the hot pursuit of the hooundes, waz fain, of fine fors, at last to take soil.[4]

The hunting of the Hart of fors.

Thear to beholld the swift fléeting of the Déer afore, with the stately cariage of hiz head in hiz swymming, spred (for the quantitée) lyke the sail of a ship: the hoounds harroing after, az they had bin a number of skiphs[5] too the spoyle of a karuell[6]: the ton no lesse eager in purchaz of hiz pray, then waz the other earnest in sauegard of hiz life: so az the earning[7] of the hoounds in continuauns of their crie, *the* swiftnes of the Déer, the running of footmen, the galloping of horsez, the blasting of hornz, the halloing & hewing[8] of the huntsmen,[9] with the excellent Echoz betwéen whilez from the woods and waters in valleiz resounding, mooued pastime delectabl in so hy a degrée, az for ony

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[1] ? *coft*, coffined, coffered, shut up as in a coffer.

[2] See *Notes* at the end.

[3] fors, Fr. *force*, force, might, strength, power, abilitie, vigour.—*Cotgrave.*

[4] A term used in hunting, when a deer runs into the water.—See *Phillips; Burn*, p. 97; *Nichols*, i. 435. See note 2, p. 33 below.

[5] Lat. *scapha*, a boat; Fr. *esquif*, a Skiffe, or little boat.—*Cotgrave.*

[6] At the lengthe, three shyppes were appoynted hym [Columbus] at the kinges charges: of the which one was a great caracte with deckes: and the other twoo were light marchaunte shyppes without deckes, whiche the Spaniardes call *Carauelas.*—Arber's reprint of *Peter Martyr's Decades*, bk. i. p. 65. Sp. *carobéla*, a small ship, called a caruell.—*Minshew.* 'A Carvel, or Caravel, was a species of light round vessel, with a square stern, rigged and fitted out like a galley, and of about 140 tons burthen. Such ships were formerly much used by the Portuguese, and were esteemed the best sailers on the seas. See *Phillips.*'—*Burn*, p. 97; *Nichols*, i. 435.

[7] baying, connected with Lat. *hirrire*, Welsh *hyrrio*, Engl. *harr*, to snarl. — See Wedgwood's Dict. under *ire* and *irritate*, and my *Notes*, p. 63 &c.

[8] Cp. our '*hue* and cry.' Fr. *huer*, to hoot, shout, exclaime, cry out, make hue and cry.—*Cotgrave.* See also *Wedgwood.*

[9] Tourberville, in the "Noble Art of Venerie, or Hunting," 4to. Lond. 1611, has an entire chapter of "certaine observations and subtelties to be used by Huntsmen in hunting an Hart at force," and gives us the words of encouragement to the hounds as follows:—

> "Hyke a Talbot, or Hyke a Bewmont, Hyke, Hyke, to him, to him
> There he goeth, that's he, that's he, to him, to him!

parson to take pleazure by moost sensez at onez, in mine opinion thear can be none ony wey comparable to this; And speciall in †this place, that of nature iz foormed so féet for the purpose: in feith, Master Martin, if ye coold with a wish, I woold ye had been at it! Wel, the Hart waz kild, a goodly Déer; but so ceast not the game yet.

[†page 18.]

For aboout nien a clock, at the hither part of the Chase, whear torchlight attended: oout of the woods, in her Maiestiez return, rooughly came thear foorth Hombre Saluagio[1], with an Oken plant pluct vp by the roots in hiz hande, himself forgrone[2] all in moss and Iuy: who, for parsonage, gesture, and vtterauns beside, coountenaunst[3] the matter too very good liking, and had speech to effect: "That continuing so long in theez wilde wastes, whearin oft had he fared both far and néer, yet hapt hée neuer to see so glorioous an assemble afore: and noow cast intoo great grief of mind, for that neyther by himself coold hee gess, nor knew whear else to bee taught, what they should be, or whoo bare estate. Reports sum had he hard of many straunge thinges, but brooyled thearby so mooch the more in desire of knoledge. Thus in great pangz bethought he & cald he vpon all his familiarz & companionz: the Fawnz, the Satyres, the Nymphs, the †Dryardes, and the Hamadryades; but none making aunswear, whearby hiz care the more encreasing, in vtter grief & extréem refuge calld hee allowd at last after hiz olld freend Echo, that he wist would hyde nothing from him[4], but tel him all if she wear heer." "Héer" (quoth Echo.) "Héer, Echo, and art thou thear? (sayz he) Ah, hoow mooch

The sauage man.

Echo.

[†page 19.]

To him, boyes, counter, to him, to him!
Talbot, a Talbot, a Talbot!"

"Such is the cry,
"And such th' harmonious din, the soldier deems
The battle kindling, and the statesman grave
Forgets his weighty cares; each age, each sex,
In the wild transport joins!" —*Somerville*, in *Nichols*, i. 436.

[1] Bp. Percy mistakes his appellation of the print at the end of the third volume of his Old Ballads; it being the *hombre salvaggio* of Laneham.—*Nichols*, i. 436.

[2] *For, before* . . the radical meaning is 'in front of' . . *For* in composition has the meaning oí 'out, without,' . . to *forget* is to away-get, to lose from memory . . In French we have *forjeter* to jut out.—*Wedgwood*, ii. 82. *Forgrown*, grown away, grown over.

[3] Fr. *contenancer*, to . . grace, maintaine, give countenance vnto; also, to frame, or set the face handsomely; to give it a gracefull and constant garbe. —*Cotgrave*.

[4] *Orig.* hiw.

hast thou relieued my carefull spirits with thy curtezy onward! A, my good Echo, héer iz a marueiloouz prezenz of dignitée! what are they, I pray thée? who iz Souerain? tell me, I beséech thee, or elz hoow moought I kno?" "I kno" (quoth shee). "Knoest thou?" sayz hee: "Mary, that iz ezceedingly well: why then, I dezire thée hartily to sho mée what Maiestie (for no mean degrée iz it) haue wee héer: a King or a Quéen?" "A Queen" (quoth Echo.) "A Quéen?" sayez hee. Pauzing and wisely viewing a while, "noow full certeynlie seemez thy tale to be true." And procéeding by this maner of dialog, with an earnest beholding her highnes a while, recounts he first hoow iustly that foormer reports agrée with hiz present sight: toouching the beautifull linaments of coountinauns, the cumly proportion of body, the prinsly
[†p. 20.] grace of prezenz, *the* graciouz giftz †of nature, with the rare and singular qualities of both body and mind in her Maiesty conioynd, and so apparant at ey. Then shortly rehearsing Saterdaiz acts: of Sibils salutation, of the Porters proposition, of hiz Trumpetoours muzik, of the Lake ladiez oration, of the seauen Gods seauen prezents: hee reporteth the incredibl ioy that all estatez in the land haue allweyz of her highnes whear so euer it[1] cums: éendeth with presage and prayer of perpetuall felicitée, and with humbl subiection of him and hizzen[2], & all that they may do. After this sort the matter went with littl differens, I gesse, sauing only in this point: that the thing which héer I report in vnpolisht proez, waz thear pronounced in good méeter and matter, very wel indighted in rime. Echo finely framed most aptly by answerz thus to vtter all.[3] And I shall tell yoo, master Martin, by the mass, of a mad auenture: az thiz Sauage, for the more submission, brake hiz trée a sunder, kest the top from him, it had allmost light vpon her highnes hors head: whereat he startld, and the gentlman mooch dismayd. Sée the benignitée of the Prins, az the foot men lookt well too the hors, and hee of Generositée †soon callmd
[†p. 21.] of him self, "no hurt, no hurt!" quoth her highnes. Which words, I promis yoo, wee wear all glad to héer, & took them too be the best part of the play.

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[1] ? she. [2] his'n, *gen. plur.* of *his*.

[3] The speech of the Savage man, and his dialogue with Echo, all in verse, 'devised, penned and pronounced by Master Gascoyne,' are given in his *Princelye Pleasures*, p. 12–21, ed. 1821.—*Nichols*, i. 437.

Tuisday. 4. Tuisday, pleazaunt passing of the time with muzik & daunsyng: sauing that toward night it liked her Maiesty too walk a foot into the Chase ouer the Bridge: whear it pleased her to stand, while vpon the Pool, oout of a Barge fine appoynted for the purpoze, too heer sundry kinds of very delectabl Muzik. Thus recreated, & after sum wallk, her highnes returned.

Wedns. 5. Wednsday, her Maiesty rode intoo the chase a hunting again of the hart of fors. The Deer, after hiz property, for refuge took the soyl: but [was] so masterd by hote pursuit on al parts, that he was taken quik in the pool: the watermen held him vp hard by the hed, while at her highnes commaundement he lost hiz earz for a raundsum, and so had pardon of lyfe.

The Hart pardoned.

Thursday 6. Thursday, the foourteenth of this Iuly, and the syxth day of her Maiestyez cumming: a great sort of bandogs[1] whear thear tyed in the vtter Coourt, and thyrteen bearz[2] in the inner. Whoosoeuer made the pannell, thear wear inoow for a Queast, & †one for challenge, & néed wear. A wight of great wizdoom and grauitée séemed their forman to be,

A queast of Bearz.

[†p. 22.]

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[1] Bewick describes the Ban-dog as being a variety of the mastiff, but lighter, smaller, and more vigilant; although at the same time not so powerful. The nose is also less, and possesses somewhat of the hound's scent; the hair is rough, and of a yellowish-grey colour, marked with shades of black. The bite of a Ban-dog is keen, and considered dangerous; and its attack is usually made upon the flank. Dogs of this kind are now rarely to be met with.—*Burn*, p. 98; *Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 14; *Nichols*, i. 438.

[2] Bear-baitings were at this time not only considered as suitable exhibitions before the Queen and her nobles, but the amusement was under the particular patronage of her Majesty. An Order of Privy Council, in July 1591, prohibits the exhibition of Plays on Thursdays, because on Thursdays bear-baiting, and such like pastimes, had been usually practised; and an injunction to the same effect was sent to the Lord Mayor, wherein it is stated, that "in divers places the players do use to recite their plays to the great hurt and destruction of the game of bear-baiting, and like pastimes, which are maintained for her Majesty's pleasure."—When confined at Hatfield House, Elizabeth and her sister Mary were recreated with a grand exhibition of bear-baiting, "with which their Highnesses were right well content." (Warton's Life of Sir Thomas Pope, sect. iii. p. 85.) The French Ambassadors were, soon after her ascension of the throne, entertained with bear and bull-baiting, and she stood to see the exhibition until six in the evening. A similar exhibition took place the next day at Paris-garden for the same party. The Danish Ambassador, twenty-seven years afterwards, was entertained by a like spectacle at Greenwich. The Bear-gardens on the Bankside are too well known to be noticed here, further than to mention that Crowley, a poet [parson and printer] in the time of Henry VIII. describes them as then existing, that they exhibited on Sundays, and the price of admission to Paris-garden was one halfpenny.—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App., 14; *Nichols*, i. 438.

had it cum to a Iury: But it fell oout that they wear cauzd too appeer thear vpon no such matter, but onlie too aunswear too an auncient quarrell betwéen them and the bandogs, in a cause of controuersy that hath long depended, béen obstinatly full often debated with sharp and byting arguments a both sydes, and coold neuer bee decided: grown noow too so marueyloous a mallys, that with spitefull obrayds and vncharitabl chaffings alweiz they freat, az far az any whear the ton can héer, see, or smell the toother: and indeed at vtter deadly fohod.[1] Many a maymd member, (God wot,) blody face, & a torn cote, hath the quarrell cost betwéene them; so far likely the lesse yet noow too be appeazd, az thear wants not partakerz too bak them a both sidez.

Well, syr, the Bearz wear brought foorth intoo the Coourt, the Dogs set too them, too argu the points eeuen face too face: they had learnd coounsell allso a both parts: what, may they be coounted parciall that are retaind but a to[2] syde? I wéen no. Very féers, both ton and toother, & [†p. 23.] †eager in argument: if the dog in pleadyng woold pluk the bear by the throte, the bear with trauers woould claw him again by the skalp, confess & a list, but a-voyd a coold not, that waz bound too the bar: and hiz coounsell tolld him that it coold bee too him no pollecy in pleading.

Thearfore thus, with fending & prooving, with plucking & tugging, skratting[3] & byting, by plain tooth & nayll a to side & toother, such exspens of blood & leather waz thear between them, az a moonths licking (I wéen) wyl not recoouer: and yet remain az far oout az euer they wear.

It waz a sport very pleazaunt, of théez beastz: to sée the bear with hiz pink nyez[4] léering after hiz enmiez approch, the nimblness & wayt[5] of *the* dog too take hiz auauntage, and the fors & experiens of the bear agayn to auoyd the assauts: if he wear bitten in one place, hoow he woold pynch in an oother too get frée: that if he wear taken onez, then what shyft, with byting, with clawyng, with roring, tossing & tumbling, he woold woork too wynde hym self from them: and when he waz lose, to shake hiz earz twyse or thryse wyth the blud & the slauer aboout hiz fiz- [†p. 24.] namy, waz †a matter of a goodly reléef.[6]

[1] foehood, feud. [2] on one. [3] *scrat*, to scratch.—*Brockett's Gloss.*
[4] See *Notes* at the end. [5] watch.
[6] So evidently thought also the nobles of Elizabeth's court (p. 16, note 2),

Gunshot & fyrework.

Az this sport waz had a day time in the Castl, so waz thear abrode at night very straunge and sundry kindez of fier works[1], compeld by cunning too fly too and fro, and too moount very hy intoo the ayr[2] vpward, and allso too burn vnquenshabl in the water beneath: contrary, yee wot, too fyerz kinde. This, intermingld with a great peal of guns: which all gaue, both too the ear and to the ey, the greater grace and delight, for that with such order and art they wear tempered toouching[3] time and continuauns, that waz about too houres space.

Tumbling of the Italian.

Noow within allso in the mean time waz thear sheawed before her highnes, by an Italian, such feats of agilitiee, in goinges, turninges, tumblinges, castinges, hops, iumps, leaps, skips, springs, gambaud[4], soomersauts, caprettiez[5] and flights: forward, backward, syde wize, a doownward, vpward, and with sundry windings, gyrings[6], and circumflexions: allso lightly, and with such easines, az by mee in feaw words it iz not expressibl by pen or speech, I tell yoo plain. I bleast me, by my faith, to behold him, and began to doout whither a waz a man or a

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whose 'moral grace' Mr. Froude holds has departed, and is not with us Victorians. *Short Studies on great Subjects* quoted in the Forewords to my *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*. (E. E. Text Soc. 1869). Set beside the moral grace that delighted in bear-baiting, the opinion of the old puritan Stubbes in 1583, whom the gracious nobles would have no doubt called a coarse and vulgar brute: "is not the baiting of a bear besides that it is a filthie, stinking, and lothsome game, a daungerous and perilous exercyse? wherein a man is in daunger of his life every minut of an howre; which thing, though it weare not so, yet what exercyse is this meet for any Christian? What Christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beast to-rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they be bloody beasts to mankind, and seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, and whose creatures they are .... And some, who take themselves for no small fooles, are so farre assotted that they will not stick to keep a dozen or a score of great mastives and bandogs, to their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forsooth); and wil not make anie bones of xx. xl. c. pound at once to hazard on a bait, with "feight dog," "feight beare," (say they), "the devill part all!" And, to be plaine, I thinke the devill is the maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pastime, forsooth! worthie of commendation! and wel fitting these gentlemen of such reputation!"—*Anatomie of Abuses*, ed. 1583, Collier's reprint, p. 177–8.

[1] See *Nichols*, vol. i. p. 319, under the year 1572, when Fireworks were introduced for the Queen's amusement at Warwick.—N.

[2] *Orig.* ayz.

[3] *Orig.* coouching.

[4] *Gambade*, a gamboll, yew-game, tumbling-tricke. *Gambader*, to turne heeles ouer head, make many gambols, fetch many friskes, shew tumbling tricks.—*Cotgrave.*

[5] *Capriot*, a caper in dauncing.—*Cotgrave.* Sp. *capriola*, a caper or lofty tricke in dauncing.—*Minsheu.*

[6] L. *gyrus*, a circle, circuit.

[†p. 25.] spirite; and I wéen had †doouted mée till this day, had it not been that anon I bethought me of men that can reazon & talk with too toongs, and with too parsons at onez, sing like burds, curteiz of behauiour, of body strong, and in ioynts so nymbl withall, that their bonez séem az lythie and plyaunt az syneuz. They dwel in a happy Iland (az the booke tearmz it) four moonths sayling Southward beyond Ethiop.[1]

Diodor. Sicul. De anti. Egyptiorum

Nay, Master Martin, I tell you no iest: for both Diadorus Siculus, an auncient Greeke historiographer, in his third book of the acts of the olld Egyptcians[2]: and also from him, Conrad Gesnerus[3] a great

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[1] See Mandeville (from Pliny) on Ethiope, p. 157, ed. 1839. There, are the 'folk that han but o foote: and thei gon so fast that it is marvaylle: and the foot is so large, that it schadewethe alle the Body aȝen the Sonne, whanne thei wole lye and reste hem.'

[2] The reference made in the text to the third book of this author is erroneous; the passage alluded to, being in the fourth chapter of the second book, the which, as it tends more perfectly to illustrate Laneham's remarks, is here extracted from Booth's translation of Diodorus Siculus, page 82. "The inhabitants are much unlike to us in this part of the world, both as to their bodies and their way of living; but among themselves, they are for form and shape like one to another, and in stature about four cubits high (six feet). They can bend and turn their bodies like unto nerves; and as the nervous parts, after motion ended, return to their former state and position, so do their bones. Their bodies are very tender, but their nerves far stronger than ours, for whatever they grasp in their hands, none are able to wrest out of their fingers. They have not the least hair on any part of their bodies, but upon their heads, eyebrows, eyelids, and chins; all other parts are so smooth, that not the least down appears anywhere. They are very comely and well-shaped, but the holes of their ears are much wider than ours, and have something like little tongues growing out of them. Their tongues have something in them singular and remarkable, the effect both of nature and art; for they have partly a double tongue, naturally a little divided, but cut further inwards by art, so that it forms two, as far as to the very root, and therefore there is great variety of speech among them, and they not only imitate man's voice in articulate speaking, but the various chatterings of birds, and even all sorts of notes, as they please; and that which is more wonderful than all, is, that they can speak perfectly to two men at once, both in answering to what is said, and aptly carrying on a continued discourse relating to subject-matter in hand; so that with one part of their tongue they speak to one, and with the other part to the other." Diodorus, surnamed Siculus, because he was born at Argyra in Sicily, flourished about 44 years before the Christian æra.—*Burn*, p. 98–9; *Nichols*, i. 440.

[3] An eminent physician, naturalist, and scholar of the 16th century, who was born at Zurich in 1516. He was made Professor of Greek at Lausanne, and at Basil he took the degree of Doctor of Medicine. After having published many valuable works in Botany, Medicine, Natural History, and Philology, he died of the plague in the year 1565, aged forty-nine. His "Mithridates," mentioned in the text, is a work on the difference of tongues throughout the world.—*Burn*, p. 99; *Nichols*, i. 441.

gestis.[1] lib. 3. learned man, and a very diligent writer in all good arguments of oour time (but deceased), in the first Mithrid. Gesneri. Chapter of hiz Mithridates reporteth the same. Az for thiz fellow, I cannot tell what too make of him, saue that I may gesse hiz bak be metalld like a Lamprey, that haz no bone[2], but a lyne like to a Lute string.

Wel, syr, let him passe and hiz featz, and this dayz pastime withall; for héer iz az mooch az I can remember mee for Thursdaiz entertainment.

Friday. Saterday. 8. [†p. 26.] Friday and Saterday wear thear no open †sheawz abrode, becauz the weather enclynde too sum moyster & wynde: that very seazonably temperd the drought and the heat cauzed by the continuans of fayr weather & sunshyne afore, all the whyle syns her Maiestiez thither cumming.

Sunday 9. A Sunday, opportunely, the weather brake vp again, and after diuine seruis in the parish church for the Sabot day, and a frutefull sermon thear in the forenoon: at after noon, in woorship of this Kenelwoorth Castl, and of God & Saint Kenelm[3], whooz day forsooth by the calendar this waz: a solem brydeale[4] of a proper coopl waz appointed: set in order in *the* tyltyard, too cum and make thear sheaw before the Castl in the great Brideale.

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[1] *Orig.* gestia.

[2] See Dr. Christ. Bennet's ed. of Muffet's *Healths Improvement*, 1655, p. 182, in which we find, of Lampreys, and Lamprons, *Lampretæ*, *Murænæ*, that "They are best (if ever good) in March and April; for then they are so fat, that they have, in a manner, *no back-bone at all:* towards Summer they wax harder, and then they have a manifest bone, but their flesh is consumed."

[3] See his Life in my *Early English Poems and Lives of Saints*, 1862, p. 47–57. He was king of the March of Wales [see above, p. 4, note], and Warwickshire was one of his counties. 'His day is given as July 17 in the Primer of 1536, but as Dec. 13 by Butler.'—*E. H. Knowles.*

[4] As the account of this rustic bride-ale has a considerable share of the ludicrous mixed up with it, the following description of the procession of a bride of middle rank, from the "History of Jack of Newbury," may not be unacceptable: "The bride, being attired in a gown of sheep's russet, and a kirtle of fine worsted, attired with a'billement of gold, and her hair as yellow as gold, hanging down behind her, which was curiously combed and plaited, she was led to church between two sweet boys, with bride laces and rosemary tied about their silken sleeves. There was a fair bride-cup of silver gilt carried before her, wherein was a goodly branch of rosemary, gilded very fair, hung about with silken ribands of all colours. Musicians came next, then a group of maidens, some bearing great bride-cakes, others garlands of wheat finely gilded; and thus they passed unto the church." Out of the bride-cup, above described, it was customary for all the persons present, together with the new-married couple, to drink in the church. There is a ludicrous re-

coourt, whear az waz pight a cumly quintine[1] for featz at armz, which, when they had don, too march oout: at the northgate of the Castl, homeward againe intoo the tooun.

And thus were they marshalld. Fyrst, all the lustie lads and bolld bachelarz of the parish, sutablie euery wight with hiz blu buckeram bridelace[2] vpon a braunch of green broom (cauz rozemary[3] iz skant thear) tyed on hiz leaft arme (for a
[†p. 27.] that syde lyez the heart), and hiz allder poll †for a spear in hiz right hand, in marciall order raunged on a fore, too & too in a rank: sum with a hat, sum in a cap, sum a cote, sum a ierken, sum (for lightnes) in hiz dooblet & hiz hoze, clean trust with a point afore: sum botes & no spurz, he spurz & no boots, and he neyther nother: one a sadel, anoother a pad or a pannell fastened with a cord, for gyrts wear geazon :[4] and théez too the number of a sixtéen

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ference to this in the mad wedding of Catherine and Petruchio, the latter of whom

> Quaff'd off the muscadel,
> And threw the sops all in the sexton's face.

The custom, indeed, was universal, from the Prince to the Peasant; and at the marriage of the Elector Palatine to the daughter of James I. in 1613, we are informed by an eye-witness there was, "in conclusion, a joy pronounced by the King and Queen, and seconded with congratulation of the Lords there present, which crowned with draughts of Ippocras out of a great golden bowle, as an health to the prosperity of the marriage (began by the Prince Palatine and answered by the Princess.) After which were served up, by six or seven Barons, as many bowles filled with wafers, so much of that work was consummate."—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 16, 17; *Nichols*, i. 441.

[1] See Brand ii. 102–3, and i. 212 (ed. 1841), referring to many authorities, and quoting Aubrey, Hasted, etc., and Blount, whose *Glossographia* (5th ed. ed. 1681, 2 years after his death) says "*Quintain*, a game or sport still in request at Marriages, in some parts of this Nation, specially in Shropshire, the manner now corruptly [as is clear from Laneham's account] thus: A *Quintin*, Buttress, or thick Plank of Wood is set fast in the ground of the High-way where the Bride and Bridegroom are to pass; and Poles are provided, with which the young men run a Tilt on Horse-back; and he that breaks most Poles, and shews most activity, wins the Garland. But Stow, in his *Survey of London*, p. 76, says, That in *anno* 1253, the youthfull Citizens, for an exercise of their activity, set forth a game to run at the *Quintin;* and whosoever did best, should have a Peacock for prize, etc." Fr. *Quintaine:* f. A Quintane (or Whintane) for countroy youthes to runne at.—*Cotgrave*, A.D. 1611.

[2] Blue bride-laces were worn at weddings, and given to the guests in the 16th and 17th centuries.—*Fairholt's Costume in England*, p. 520. See examples in *Brand*, ii. 81, ed. 1841, from Ben Jonson, Herrick, etc.

[3] See *Brand*, ii. 74 on 'Rosemary and Bays at Weddings.'

[4] *Geason*, scarce: 'scant and geason.'—Harrison's *England*, p. 236, in *Halliwell's Gloss.* *Geason*, an ancient word signifying rare or scarce.—See Phillips.

> "And if we speake of Astronomy,
> They will say it is a great lye,
> For they can no other reason;

wight[1] riding men, and well beséen[2]: but the bridegroom formost, in hiz fatherz tawny worsted iacket, (for his frēends wear fayn that he shoold be a brydegroom before the Quēen) a fayr strawn[3] hat, with a capitall crooun stēepl wyze on hiz hed: a payr of haruest glouez on hiz hands, az a sign of good husbandry: a pen & inkorn at his bak, for he woold be knowen to be bookish; lame of a leg, that in his yooth was broken at football[4]: wellbeloued yet of hiz mother, that lent him a nu mufflar for a napkin, that was tyed too hiz gyrdl for[5] lozyng: It was no small sport too marke this minion in hiz full apointment, that throogh good scoolation becam az formall in his action az had he bēen a bride groom indēed: with this speciall grace by the wey, that euer az †he woold haue framed him the better countenauns, with the woors face he lookt. [†p. 28.]

Well, syr, after thēez horsmen, a liuely morisdauns[6], ac-

But all that knoweth good and better,
As gentleman that loveth swete and swetter,
Wisdome with them is not *geason*," &c.
Shepheard's Kalendar, sign A. 56.

[1] active. [2] clad. *ib.* [3] straw-en, made of straw.

[4] See Stubbes's most amusing account of this Sunday-game, in his *Anatomie of Abuses*, p. 184 of Collier's reprint of the 1st ed. 1583: "as concerning football playing, I protest unto you it may rather be called a frendly kinde of fight, then a play or recreation; a bloody and murthering practise, than a felowly sporte or pastime. For dooth not every one lye in waight for his adversarie, seeking to overthrowe him, and to picke [= pitch] him on his nose, though it be uppon hard stones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place soever it be, hee careth not, so he have him down. And he that can serve the most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow; and who but he? So that by this means, sometimes their backs, *sometime their legs*, sometime their armes; sometime one part thrust out of joynt, sometime an other; sometime the noses gush out with blood, sometime their eyes start out, and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoever scapeth away the best, goeth not scotfree, but is either sore wounded, craised, and bruseed, so as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly. And no mervaile, for they have the sleights to meet one betwixt two, to dashe him against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him under the short ribbes with their griped fists, and with their knees to catch him upon the hip, and to pitch him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering devices: and hereof groweth envie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel-picking, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

"Is this murthering play, now, an exercise for the sabaoth day? is this a Christian dealing, for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that upon prepensed malice or set purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to us? God make us more careful over the bodyes of our brethren!"

[5] against, to prevent, losing it.

[6] See 'Morris Dancers' in Brand, i. 142–155, ed. 1841.—Blount's *Glossographia*, there quoted, gives only six performers, as against Lancham's eight: "*Morisco* (Span.) a Moor; also a Dance so called, wherein there were usually

cording too the auncient manner, six daunserz, Mawdmarion, and the fool. Then, thrée prety puzels[1] az bright az a breast of bacon, of a thirtie yéere old[2] a pées, that carried thrée speciall spisecakes[3] of a bushell of wheat, (they had it by meazure oout of my Lord's backhouse[4],) before the Bryde: Syzely, with set countenauns, and lips so demurely simpring, az it had béen a Mare cropping of a thistl. After théez, a loouely loober woorts[5], freklfaced, red headed, cléen trust in his dooblet & hiz hoze, taken vp now in déed by commission, for that hee waz so loth to cum forward, for reuerens (belike) of hiz nu cut canuas[6] dooblet: & woold by hiz good will haue béen but a gazer, but found too bée a meet actor for hiz offis: that waz, to beare the bridecup, foormed of a sweet sucket[7] barrell, a faire turnd foot set too it, all seemly besyluerd and parcell[8] gilt, adourned with a bea[u]tiful braunch of broom, gayly begilded for rosemary: from which, too brode brydelaces of red and yelloo buckeram begilded, and galauntly streaming by such wind az thear †waz (for hée carried it aloft:) This gentl cupbearer yet had hiz freckld fiznemy sumwhat vnhappily infested, az hee went, by the byzy flyez, that floct about the bride cup for the swéetnes of the sucket that it sauored on: but hée, like a tall fello, withstood their mallis stoutly (sée what manhood may do!), bet them away, kild them by scores, stood to hiz charge, and marched on in good order.

[†p. 29.]

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five Men, and a Boy dressed in a Girls habit, whom they call the *Maid Marrion* . . . Common people call it a *Morris Dance*." Brand's quotation, i. 149, from *Cobbe's Prophecies*, 1614, says that

> . . cheefest of them all, the Foole
> Plaied with a ladle and a toole.

[1] Fr. *pucelle*, a maid, virgine; girle, damsell, mother.—*Cotgrave.*

[2] Nichols's copy reads 'a thirtie-five yeer old.'

[3] See Brand on Bride-cake, ii. 62–4, ed. 1841.

[4] bakehouse.

[5] Fr. *Baligaut:* m. An unweldy lubber, great lobcocke, huge luske, misshapen lowt, ill-favoured flabergullion.—*Cotgrave.* '*Loobber woorts*, a dull, heavy, and useless fellow. The word is probably derived from the Danish *lubben*, gross, or fat, and *vorte*, a wart or wen.—See Wolff. Shakespeare uses the latter word somewhat in this sense, when he makes Prince Henry say to Falstaff, "I do allow this *wen* to be as familiar with me as my dog." '—*Burn*, p. 100; *Nichols*, i. 443.

[6] Cp. Laneham's saying of himself, p. 57, below. "I go noow in my sylks, that else might ruffl in my *cut canues*,"—poor man's clothes.

[7] *Suckets*, dried sweet-meats or sugar-plums; that which is sucked.—*Nares:* see the quotations there, and cp. Fr. *dragée* any jonkets, comfets, or sweetmeats, served in as the last course (or otherwise) for stomake-closers.—*Cotgrave.*

[8] partly.—*Burn.*

Then folloed the worshipfull Bride, led (after the cuntrie maner) betwéen too auncient parishionerz, honest toounsmen. But a stale stallion[1] and a wel spred, (hot az the weather waz,) God wot, and an il smelling, waz she: a thirtie[2] yéer old, of colour brounbay, not very beautifull in déed, but vgly, fooul, ill fauord: yet marueyloous fain of the offis, because shee hard say shee shoold dauns before the Quéen, in which feat shée thought shee woold foote it az finely az the best: Well, after this bride cam thear, by too and too, a dozen damzels for bridemaides: that for fauor, attyre, for facion and cleanlines, were az meete for such a bride, az a tréen[3] ladl for a porige pot: mo, but for fear of carring all clean, had béen appointed: but theez feaw wear inoow.

[†p. 30.] †Az the cumpany in this order wear cum into *the* coourt, maruelous wear the marciall acts that wear doon thear that day.

Running at Quintine. The Brydegroome for preeminens had the fyrst coors at the Quintyne, brake hiz spear *tres hardiment:* but his mare in hiz manage did a littl so titubate[4], that mooch a doo had hiz manhod to sit in his sadl, & too scape the foyl of a fall: with the help of his band, yet he recooued himself, and lost not hiz styrops (for he had none too his saddl): had no hurt, as it hapt, but only that hiz gyrt burst, and lost hiz pen & inkorn, that he waz redy to wep for. But hiz handkercher, az good hap waz, found he safe at his gyrdl: that chéerd him sumwhat, & had good regard it shoold not be fyeld. For though heat & coolnes vpon sundry occazions made him sumtime too sweat, and sumtime rumatick: yet durst he be bollder too blo hiz noze, & wype hiz face, with the flapet of his fatherz iacket[5], then with hiz mothers mufflar;—tiz a goodly matter, when yooth iz manerly brought vp in fatherly looue & motherly aw.

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[1] *Stallion*, a term of reproval, applied to a woman in the Life of Long Meg of Westminster, 1635. Cotgrave's first meaning for *Estalon* is, 'a Stalion for Mares;' his second meaning 'a stale (as a Larke, etc.) wherewith Fowlers traine silly birds unto their destruction.'

[2] Nichols, following a Bodleian copy, reads "thirtie-five." Ed. 1788, i. 19.

[3] made of tree or wood.

[4] *Titubant* tripping, stumbling, staggering.—*Cotgrave.*

[5] Yf *thy* nose *thou* clense, as may befalle,
Loke *thy* honde *thou* clense, as wythe-alle,
Priuely w*ith* skyrt do hit away,
O*ther* ellis thurgh*e* thi tepet *that* is so gay.
Boke of Curtasye, ab. 1460 A.D., in *Babees Book*, p. 301, l. 89–92.

Noow, syr, after the Brydegroom had made hiz coors, ran
[†p. 31.] the rest of the band a †whyle in sum order, but soon after, tag and rag[1], cut & long tail[2]: whear the specialty of the sport waz, to see, how sum for hiz slakness had a good bob with the bag[3], and sum for his haste too toppl dooun right, & cum tumbling to the post: sum stryuing so mooch at the first setting oout, that it séemd a question betwéene the man & the beast, whither the coors shoold be made a horsback or a foot: and put foorth with the spurz, then wold run hiz race byas[4] among the thickest of the throng, that dooun came they toogyther, hand ouer hed: anoother, whyle he directed hiz coors to the quintyne, hiz iument[5] woold cary him too a mare amoong the pepl: so hiz hors az amoroos, az him selfe aduenturoous. Another, too run & miss the quintyne with hiz staff, and hit the boord with his hed.

Many such gay gamez wear thear among théez ryderz: who by & by after, vpon a greater coorage, leaft thear quintining, and ran one at anoother. Thear to sée the stearn countenauns, the grym looks, the cooragioous attempts, the desperat aduenturez, the daungeroous cooruez[6], the féers encoounterz, whearby the buff[7] at the man, and the coounter-
[†p. 32.] buff at the hors, that †both sumtime cam topling to the ground. By my trooth, Master Martyn, twaz a

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[1] *En bloc et en tasche*, one with another, tag and rag, all together.—*Cotgrave.*

[2] This phrase [*cut and long tail*] occurs in the Merry Wives of Windsor, where Slender after the declaration of Shallow, that he shall maintain Ann Page like a gentlewoman, says, "Ay, that I will, come *cut and long-tail*, under the degree of a squire." It is also found in the First Part of the Eighth Liberal Science, entitled, "Ars Adulandi," &c, devised and compiled by Ulpian Fulwell 1576, "Yea, even their very dogs, Rug, Rig, and Risbie, yea, *cut and long-taile*, they shall be welcome." Many other instances of the usage of this phrase are to be met with in old plays, and it seems probable that it originally referred to horses only, which might be denominated *cut and long-tail*, as they were curtailed of this appendage or allowed its full growth: and this might be practised according to their value or uses. In this view, *cut and long-tail*, would include the whole species of horses, good and bad, and such appears to be the comprehensive meaning of the phrase.—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 19; *Nichols*, i. 445.

[3] Hung at the other end of the cross-bar of the quintain-pole.

[4] *Biais:* m. Byas, compasse, aslope, or sloping.—*Cotgrave.*

[5] stallion; though Fr. *jument* is a mare. Lat. *jumentum*, a beast of burden.

[6] 'curves,' as Mr. Knowles suggests; not for 'courses;' or from Fr. *Corvée, Courvée*, a dayes worke, due by a Tenant vnto his Lord. *Il a fait vne grande courvée*, he hath done a great dayes worke, he hath made a long dayes iourney; or, he hath dispatched the matter with verie much toyle.—*Cotgrave.*

[7] *Buffe:* f. A buffet, blow, cuffe, boxe, or whirret on the eare, &c.—*Cotgrave.*

liuely pastime; I beléeue it woold haue mooued sum man too a right méery mood, thoogh had it be toold him hiz wife lay a dying.

Hok Tuisday[1] by the Couentree men.

And héertoo folloëd az good a sport (me thooght) prezented in an historicall ku[2], by certain good harted men of Couentrée[3], my Lordes neighboors thear: who, vnderstanding amoong them *the* thing that coold not bee hidden from ony, hoow carefull and studious hiz honor waz, that by all pleazaunt recreasions her highnes might best fynd her self wellcom, and bee made gladsum and mery, (the groundworke indeede, and foundacion, of hiz Lordship's myrth and gladnesse of vs all), made petition that they moought renu noow their olld storiall sheaw[4]:

Florileg. li. I. fol. 300.

Of argument, how the Danez whylom héere in a troubloous seazon wear for quietnesse born withall, & suffeard in peas, that anon, by outrage & importabl insolency, abuzing both Ethelred, the king then, and all estates euerie whear byside: at the greuoous complaint &

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[1] See Brand and Ellis's long notes on this custom in their *Antiquities*, i. 107–114, ed. 1841.

[2] ? style. *Cue.* From the letter *Q*, of *quando* or *qualis* by which the place for a fresh actor's speech was marked.—See *Wedgwood*, iii. 550.

[3] On the Coventry men's plays, &c. see Thomas Sharpe's "Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry by the Trading Companies of that City &c." 1825; and "the Coventry Mysteries," edited for the Shakspere Society by Mr. Halliwell, 1841. 'Previous to the suppression of the English Monasteries, the City of Coventry was particularly famed for the pageants which were performed in it on the 14th of June, or Corpus-Christi day. This appears to have been one of the ancient fairs; and the Grey Friars, or Friars Minors, of that City, had, as Dugdale relates, "Theatres for the several scenes very large and high, placed upon wheels, and drawn to all the eminent parts of the city, for the better advantage of the spectators; and contained the story of the Old and New Testament, composed in the Old English rhyme." Coventry appears to have derived great benefit from the numbers of persons who came to visit these Pageants.'—*Burn*, p. 101; *Nichols*, i. 446.

[4] The origin of this once popular holiday, called Hoke-day, Hoke-tuesday, or Hoke-tide, is involved in considerable obscurity. By some writers it is supposed to be commemorative of the massacre of the Danes in the reign of Ethelred, on the 13th of November, 1002; whilst by others, the deliverance of the English from the tyranny of the Danes, by the death of Hardicanute, on Tuesday the 8th of June, 1042, is pointed out as its origin. Our author adopts the former hypothesis, though the weight of argument preponderates in favour of the national deliverance by Hardicanute's death; and it must not be forgotten that the festival was celebrated on a Tuesday, and that Hoke-tuesday was the Tuesday in the second week after Easter. Various conjectures have been offered respecting the etymology of the word *Hoke*. Lambard imagined it to be a corruption of *Huextyde*, the time of scorning or mocking. Bryant prefers *Hock, high*, apprehending that *Hock-day* means no more than a high day; but Mr. Denne, in a very learned memoir upon this subject, printed in the

coounsell of Huna, the king's chieftain in warz, on Saint Brices night, Ann. Dom. 1012.[1] †(Az the book sayz) that falleth yéerely on the thirtéenth of Nouember, wear all dispatcht, and the Ream rid. And for becauz the matter mencioneth how valiantly our English women for looue of their cuntrée behaued themseluez: expressed in actionz & rymez after their maner, they thought it moought mooue sum myrth to her Maiestie the rather.

[†p. 33.]

The thing, said they, iz grounded on story, and for pastime woont too bee plaid in oour Citee yéerely: without ill exampl of mannerz, papistry, or ony superstition: and elz did so occupy the heads of a number, that likely inoough woold haue had woorz meditationz: had an auncient beginning, and a long continuauns: tyll noow of late laid dooun, they knu no cauz why, onless it wear by the zeal of certain theyr Preacherz[2]: men very commendabl for their behauiour and learning, & swéet in their sermons, but sumwhat too sour in preaching awey theyr pastime[3]: wisht therefore, that az they shoold continu their good doctrine in pulpet, so, for matters of pollicy & gouernauns of the Citie, they woold per-

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Archæologia, vol. vii. p. 244, &c., adopts Spelman's derivation of the term from the German *Hocken*, in reference to the practice of *binding*, which was formerly practised by the women upon the men upon Hoke-tuesday; though he considers this as metaphorical, and that the German word for marriage, or a wedding-feast, *Hock-zeit*, is more immediately applicable, because it was at the wedding feast of a Danish Lord, with the daughter of a Saxon Nobleman, that Hardicanute died suddenly, not without suspicion of being poisoned.—*Nichols*, i. 446.

[1] More correctly 1002.—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, 20; *Nichols*.

[2] Compare Stubbes's chapter 'Of Stage-playes and Enterludes, with their wickednes,' *Anatomie*, p. 134–141; Northbrooke's Treatise on Dicing, Dancing, Plays and Interludes, &c., 1577, A.D. (Shaksp. Soc. 1843), &c. &c.

[3] While the Catholic Religion was the established faith of England, there were, in connection with it, many public amusements and festivals, by which all the orders of society were entertained; such as the performance of Moralities or sacred plays, popular customs to be observed on certain vigils and Saints' days, and the keeping of the many holidays enjoined by the Romish Calendar, in the pastimes common to the lower classes. In the commencement of most reformations in society, it is common to find the reverse of wrong assumed for right; and hence the Puritans, who increased rapidly after the English Reformation, not only banished all those festivals and customs peculiar to the Catholic religion, but also violently declaimed against popular pastimes, innocent in themselves, but condemned by them because they had existed in former times. This illiberal spirit of denouncing public amusements, was, however, not without some opposition; Randolph severely attacked "the sanctified fraternity of Blackfriars," in his "Muses Looking Glass," and Ben Jonson scarcely ever let them pass without some satirical remark. In the Monologue, or "Masque of Owls," the latter of which, as it was performed at Kenilworth, in the Reign of Charles I., is most to the pre-

mit them to the Mair and Magistratez: and seyed, by my
[†p. 34.] feyth, Master Martyn, they †woold make theyr humbl peticion vntoo her highnes, that they might haue theyr playz vp agayn.

Captain Cox. But aware, kéep bak, make room noow, heer they cum! And fyrst, captin Cox, an od man I promiz yoo: by profession a Mason, and that right skilfull, very cunning

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sent purpose; the third owl is intended to represent a Puritan of Coventry, one of those who contributed to put down the Coventry plays, and is thus described:—

Hey Owl Third.

"A pure native bird
This, and though his hue
Be Coventry blue,
Yet is he undone
By the thread he has spun;
For since the wise town
Has let the sports down
Of May-games and Morris,
For which he right sorry is;
Where their maids and their makes,
At dancings and wakes,
Had their napkins and posies,
And the wipers for their noses,
And their smocks all-be-wrought
With his thread which they bought:
It now lies on his hands,
And having neither wit or lands,
Is ready to hang or choke him,
In a skein of that that broke him."

From the above keen satire may be gathered, that in abolishing of the Coventry Pageants, the trade of that City suffered considerably. The chief staple of the place was the manufactory of blue thread, of which a great consumption was formerly made in the embroidering of scarfs and napkins. But beside the decay of trade in Coventry, occasioned by the loss of the Pageants, the unpatriotic taste for articles of foreign production, was also of considerable detriment to that, as well as to the other manufacturing Towns of England. In a very rare tract, entitled, "A Briefe Conceipte of English Pollicye," Lond. 1581, with the initials W. S., and ascribed to Shakspeare, but in reality written by W. Stafford, there are the following passages concerning the effect of this destructive fashion upon the staple of Coventry: and as they tend so particularly to illustrate the period of the Kenilworth pageants, and Laneham's own manners, which were so strongly tinctured with foreign fopperies, it is presumed that their insertion will not be unacceptable to the reader: (fo. 48) "I will tell you: while men were contented with such as were made in the market-townes next vnto them, then were they of our Townes & Cities well set a worke: as I knewe the time when men were content with Cappes, Hattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of garmentes made in the townes next adioyning, whereby the Townes were then well occupied and set a worke, and yet the money payd for the same stuffe remayned in the countrey. Now, the poorest younge man in a countrey cannot be content with a lether gyrdle, or lether poyntes, Kniues or Daggers, made nigh home. And specially no Gentleman can be contente to haue eyther Cappe, Cote, Dublet, Hose, or shyrte, in his countrey, but they must haue this geare come from London; and yet many thinges hereof are not there made, but beyond the sea: whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and specially of the townes beyond the seaes, are well set a worke euen vpon our costes. . . (f. 49) I haue heard say that the chiefe trade of Couentry was heretofore in making of blewe threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in manner onely; and now our thredde comes all from beyond Sea. Wherefore that trade of Couentry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewise." (*fol.* 49).—In consequence, therefore, of the desire for foreign articles of dress

in fens, and hardy az Gawin; for hiz tonsword[1] hangs at his tablz end: great ouersight hath he in matters of storie: For, az for king Arthurz book[2], Huon of Burdeaus, The foour

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and ornament, England, which had been hitherto in a great measure supplied from her own resources, became about the close of the 16th century filled with manufactures which were imported from the Continent; while at the same time the most important British productions were exchanged for what, in a commercial sense, might be considered only as superfluities. This, also, is very forcibly hinted at in the pamphlet before quoted, in the following manner:—"And I maruell no man takes heede to it, what number first of trifles comes hether from beyond the sea, that wee might either cleane spare, or els make them within our realme, for the which wee either pay inestimable treasure euery yere, or else exchaunge substantiall wares and necessary, for them, for the which we might receaue great treasure. Of *the* which sort I meane as well looking-glasses as drinking, and also to glaze windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles, Puppettes, Penners [pen-cases], Inkehorns, Toothe-picks, Gloues, Knines, Dagges, Owches [jewels or ornaments], Brouches, Agglettes [the metal ends of tags or laces], Buttons of silke & siluer, Earthen pots, Pinnes and Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thousand like thinges that might either be cleane spared, or els made within the realme, sufficient for vs: and as for some thinges, they make it of our owne commodities, and send it vs againe, whereby they set their people a worke, and doe exhauste much treasure out of this Realme: as, of our woll they make Clothes, Cappes, and Kerseis; of our felles [hides] they make Spanish skins, Gloues, and Girdels; of our Tinne, Saltsellers, Spoones, and Dishes; of our broken Linnen, clothes and ragges, Paper both white and browne. What Treasure (thinke yee) goes out of this Realme for euery of these thinges? and then for all together, it exceedes myne estimation. There is no man that can be contented now with any other Gloues than be made in Fraunce or in Spayne; nor Kersie, but it must be of Flaunders die; nor Cloth, but French, or Fryseadowe; nor Ouche, Brooch, or Agglet, but of Venice making, or Millen; nor Dagger, Swearde, Knife, or Gyrdle, but of Spanish making, or some outward countrey; no, not as much as a Spurre, but that is fetched at the Millener. I haue heard within these xl. years, when there were not of these Haberdashers that selles French or Millen Cappes, Glasses, Knines, Daggers, Swordes, Gyrdels, and such thinges, not a dosen in all London: & now from the Tower to Westminster alonge, euery streate is full of them; and their shoppes glitter and shyne of Glasses, as well drynking as looking, yea, all manner of vessel of the same stuffe: paynted Cruses, gaye Daggers, Knyues, Swordes, and Gyrdels, that it is able to make any temperate man to gase on them, and to buy somewhat, though it serue to no purpose necessarie."—*Burn*, p. 101–4; *Nichols*, i. 447–449. (Corrected by *Stafford*. Fol. 25. I shall re-edit the book for the E. E. Text Soc. in a year or two.)

[1] "Perhaps a one-handed sword, from *ton* the one (see p. 37), guesses Nares, who says he has not found the word anywhere else than in this tract, here, and on page 31. Burn (p. 106), more probably, makes it a large two-handed sword. See *Preface*. 'In the account of expenses by the Drapers' Company in Coventry on Midsummer night, 1557, occur, fifteen gunners, a flag-bearer, flute, drum, and a "wysseler." There is also the following Item, "payd for a *long-sworde* and the skouryng, xijd." which long sword was evidently for the person marshalling or commanding the fifteen gunners, and seems to be exactly analogous to the *tonsword* of Captain Cox."—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 22; *Nichols*, i. 451.

[2] For notes on all this and the following names of books, ballads, etc., see the *Forewords*.

suns of Aymon, Beuys of Hampton, The squyre of lo degrée, The knight of courtesy, and the Lady Faguell, Frederik of Gene, Syr Eglamoour, Sir Tryamoour, Sir Lamwell, Syr Isenbras, Syr Gawyn, Olyuer of the Castl, Lucres and Eurialus[1], Virgil's life, The castle of Ladiez, The wido Edyth, The King & the Tanner, Frier Rous, Howleglas, Gargantua, Robinhood, Adambel, Clim of the clough, & William of Cloudesley, The Churl & the Burd, The seauen wise Masters, The wife lapt in a Morel's skin, The sak full of nuez, The seargeaunt that became a Fryar, Skogan, Collyn cloout, The Fryar & the boy, Elynor Rumming, and the Nutbrooun
[†p. 35.] maid, with many moe †then I rehearz héere: I beléeue hee haue them all at hiz fingers endz.

Then, in Philosophy, both morall & naturall, I think he be az naturally ouerseen[2]: beside poetrie and Astronomie, and oother hid sciencez, as I may gesse by the omberty[3] of hiz books: whearof part az I remember, the Sheperdz kalender, The Ship of Foolz, Danielz dreamz, the booke of Fortune, *Stans puer ad mensam,* the hy wey to the Spitlhouse, Iulian of Brainford's testament, the castle of Loue, the booget of Demaunds, the hundred Mery talez, the book of Riddels, the Seauen sororz of wemen, the prooud wiues Pater noster, the Chapman of a peniwoorth of Wit: Beside hiz auncient playz, Yooth & charitee, Hikskorner, Nugize, Impacient pouerty; and héerwith, doctor Boord's breuiary of health. What shoold I rehearz heer, what a bunch of ballets & songs, all auncient: Az Broom broom on hil. So wo iz me begon, troly lo. Ouer a whinny Meg. Hey ding a ding. Bony lass vpon a gréen. My bony on gaue me a bek. By a bank az I lay: and a hundred more, he hath, fair wrapt vp in Parchment, and bound with a whipcord.

[†p. 36.] And az for Allmanaks of antiquitée, (a †point for Ephemerides) I wéene hee can sheaw from Iasper Laet of Antwarp vnto Nostradam of Frauns, and thens vnto oour John Securiz of Salsbury. To stay ye no longer héerin, I dare say hee hath az fair a library for théez sciencez, & az many goodly monuments both in proze & poetry, & at

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[1] Nichols reads 'Curialus,' ed. 1788, vol. i. p. 23.

[2] Well-read, learned: cp. Fr. *retraicter*, to revise, peruse, overlook, oversee, run over.—*Cotgrave.*

[3] ? shadowing. Cp. 'coming events cast their shadows before;' and Fr. *Vn poil fait ombre:* Prov. A haire makes a shadow; the smallest things haue their shadows; *viz.* their vse, or some ornament.—*Cotgrave.*

afternoonz can talk az much without book, az ony Inholder betwixt Brainford[1] and Bagshot, what degree soeuer he be.

Beside thiz, in the field a good Marshall at musters[2]: of very great credite & trust in the toun héer, for he haz béen chozen Alecumner[3] many a yéere, when hiz betterz haue stond by: & euer quited himself with such estimation, az yet too the tast of a cup of Nippitate[4], his iudgement will be taken aboue the best in the parish, be hiz noze near so read.

Captain Cox cam marching on valiantly before, cléen trust, & gartered aboue the knée, all fresh in a veluet cap (master Goldingham[5] lent it him) floorishing with hiz tonswoord, and another fensmaster with him: thus in the foreward making room for the rest. After them proudly prickt on formost, the Danish launsknights[6] on horsbak, and then the English: each with their allder †poll marcially in their hand. Eeuen at the first entrée the méeting waxt sumwhat warm: that by and by kindled with corage a both sidez, gru from a hot skirmish vnto a blazing battail: first by speare and shield, outragious in their racez az ramz at their rut[7], with furious encoounterz, that togyther they tumbl too the dust, sumtime hors and man: and after fall too it with sworde & target, good bangz a both sidez: the fight so ceassing; but the battail not so ended: folloed the footmen, both the hostez, ton after toother: first marching in ranks: then warlik turning, then from ranks into squadrons, then in too trianglz; from

[†p. 37.] The Couentree play.

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[1] Brentford in Middlesex, and Bagshot in Surrey, are both on the South-Western road from London. What can have made Laneham quote them here?

[2] See *Notes* at the end.

[3] *Ale-conner* or *Ale-taster*, an Officer appointed in every Court-Leet, and Sworn to look to the Assize and Goodness of Bread, Ale and Beer, sold within the Jurisdiction of the Leet.—*Kersey's Phillips*, A.D. 1706.

[4] See note on *Arion*, p. 34, in *Notes* at the end.

[5] Stubbes, in his Anatomie of Abuses, 1595, describing the excesses at *Church-ales*, on which occasion he says ten or twenty quarters of malt is frequently made into very strong ale or beer; adds, "Then, when this *nippitatum*, this huffe-cappe, as they call it, this nectar of life, is set abroach, well is he that can get the soonest to it, and spend the most at it; for he is counted the godliest man of all the rest, and most in God's favour, because it is spent upon his Church forsooth." May not the terms *nappy-ale* and *brown-nappy*, be derived from this origin?—*Kenilworth Illustrated*, App. 23; *Nichols*, i. 455. See *Notes* at the end.

[6] Dan. *lantse* a lance, *knegt* a knight; Germ. *lands-knecht* a foot-soldier.—*Ludwig*.

[7] Fr. *ruit*: m. The rut of Deere or Bores; their lust; and the season wherein they ingender.—*Cotgrave*.

that intoo rings, & so winding oout again: A valiant captain of great prowez, az fiers az a fox assauting a gooz, waz so hardy to giue the first stroke: then get they grisly togyther: that great waz the actiuitée that day too be séen thear a both sidez: ton very eager for purchaz[1] of pray, toother vtterly stoout for redemption of libertie: thus, quarrell enflamed fury a both sidez. Twise the Danes had *the* better; but at the last conflict, beaten doun, ouercom, and many led captiue for triumph by our English wéemen.

[†p. 38.] This waz the effect of this sheaw, that, †az it waz handled, made mooch matter of good pastime: brought all indéed intoo the great court, een vnder her highnes windo too haue been séen: but (az vnhappy it waz for the bride) that cam thither too soon, (and yet waz it a four a clok). For her highnes beholding in the chamber delectabl dauncing indéed: and héerwith the great throng and vnrulines of the people, waz cauz that this solemnitee of Brideale & dauncing, had not the full muster waz hoped for: and but a littl of the Couentrée plea her highnes also saw: commaunded thearfore on the Tuisday folloing to haue it ful oout: az accordingly it waz prezented, whearat her Maiestie laught well: they wear the iocunder, and so mooch the more becauz her highnes had giuen them too buckes, and fiue marke in mony, to make mery togyther: they prayed for her Maiesty, long, happily to reign, & oft to cum thither, that oft they moought sée héer: & what, reioycing vpon their ampl reward, and what, triumphing vpon the good acceptauns, they vaunted their play waz neuer so dignified, nor euer any players afore so beatified.

[†p. 39.] Thus though the day took an éend, yet †slipt not the night all sléeping awey: for az neyther offis nor obsequy ceassed at any tyme too the full, to perform the plot hiz honor had appoynted: So, after supper waz thear a play prezented of a very good theam, but so set foorth by the Actoourz wel handling, that pleazure & mirth made it seeme very short, though it lasted too good oourz and more. But stay, master Martyn, all iz not doon yet.

After the play oout of hand, folloed a most deliciooуz and (if I may so terme it) an Ambrosiall Banket: whearof, whither I myght more muze at the deintynesse, shapez and the cost: or els at the variete & number of the disshez (that

[1] Fr. *pourchas*, eager pursuit, earnest chace after (*Cotgrave*) and so, gain, getting, securing.

Entrance to the Banqueting Hall, Kenilworth Castle.

wear a three hundred), for my part I coold littl tel them, and noow less, I assure yoo. Her Maiesty eat smally or nothing: which vnderstood, the coorsez wear not so orderly serued, & sizely set dooun, but wear by and by az disorderly wasted & coorsly consumed; more courtly[1], me thought, then curteously. But that was no part of *the* matter: moought it pleaz and be liked, & do that it cam for, then waz all well inough.

Vntoo this banket thear waz appoynted a mask: for riches of aray, of an incredibl† cost: but the time so far spent, and very late in the night noow, waz cauz that it cam not foorth to the sheaw. And thus for Sondayz seazon hauing stayd yoo the lenger (according too the matter) heer make I an eend: ye maye breath yee a while.

[†p. 40.]

Munday. 10. Munday, the eyghteenth of this Iuly, the weather being hot, her highnes kept the Castl for coolness, till aboout fiue a clok her Maiesty in the Chase hunted the hart (az afore) of fors: that, whyther wear it by the cunning of the huntsmen, or by the naturall desyre of the Deer, or els by both: anon he gat him too soyl[2] agayne, which reyzed the accustomed delight: a pastime indéede so intyrely pleazaunt, az whearof at times whoo may haue the ful and frée fruition, can find no more sacietée (I ween) for a recreation, then of theyr good viaundes at timez for their sustentation.

Psal. 24.

Well, the game waz gotten: and her highnes returning, cam thear vppon a swimming Mermayd (that from top too tayl waz an eyghtéen foot long,) Triton, Neptunes blaster: whoo, with hiz tru*m*pet foormed of a wrinkld wealk, az her Maiesty† waz in sight, gaue soound very shrill & sonoroous, in sign he had an ambassy too pronoouns: anon her highnes waz cummen vpon the bridge, whearunto he made hiz fish to swim the swifter, and he then declared[3]: "how the supreame salsipotent[4] Monarch Neptune, the great

Triton.

[†p. 41.]

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[1] Compare, in Russell's Book of Nurture, *Babees Book*, p. 163, the caution to the officers to look out that no dish of a course is stolen, l. 180; and the note there from *Household Ordinances*, p. 45, that Edw. IV's Surveyor is to see that 'of every messe that cummyth from the dressing bourde . . thereof be nothing withdrawn by the squires.'

[2] took to the water. Fr. *batre les eaux*, a Deere to take soyle.—*Cotgrave.*

[3] See *Notes* at the end.

[4] An epithet derived from the Latin *salsipotens*, which signifies one who has power over the salt seas; in which sense it is used by Plautus.—*Ainsworth*, in *Burn.*

God of the swelling seaz, Prins of profunditées, and Soouerain Segnior of al Lakez, freshwaterz, Riuerz, Créekes, & Goolphs: vnderstanding how a cruel Knight, one syr Bruse sauns pitée[1], a mortall enmy vntoo Ladiez of estate, had long lyen about the banks of this pooll, in wayt with his bands heer to distress the Lady of *the* lake, whearby she hath béen restrayned not only from hauing any vse of her ancient liberty and territoriez in théez parts, but also of making repayr & giuing attendauns vnto yoo, nobl Quéen, (qd. he) az she woold, shee promist, and allso shoold: dooth thearfore signify: and héerto, of yoo, az of hiz good leag and déer fréend, make this request, that ye will deyn but too sheaw yoor parson toward this pool, whearby yoor only prezens shallbe matter sufficient of abandoning this vncurtess knight, and putting all his bands too flight, & also of deliuerauns
[†p. 42.] of †the lady oout of this thralldom." Moouing héerwith from the bridge, & fléeting more intoo the pool, chargeth he in Neptunes name: both Eolus with al his windez, the waters with hiz springs, hiz fysh & fooul, and all his clients in the same, that they ne be so hardye in any fors too stur, but kéep them calm & quiet while this Quéen be prezent. At which petition her highnes staying, it appeerd straight hoow syr Bruse became vnséen, his bands skaled[2], and the Lady by and by, with her too Nymphs, floting vpon her moouable Ilands (Triton on hiz mermaid skimming by,) approched toward her highnes on the bridge: az well too declare that her Maiestiez prezens hath so graciouslye thus wrought her deliuerauns, az allso to excuze her not comming to coourt az she promist, and chéefly to prezent her Maiesty (az a token of her duty & good hart) for her highness recreation, with thiz gift, which was Arion[3], that excellent & famouz Muzicien, in tyre & appointment straunge well séeming too hiz parson, ryding alofte vpon hiz olld fréend the Dolphin, (that from hed to tayl waz a
[†p. 43.] foour & twenty foot long) & swymd hard by theez Ilands: †héerwith Arion, for theez great benefitez, after a feaw well coouched words vntoo her Maiesty of thanksgyuing, in supplement of the same, béegan a de-

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[1] See *Notes* at the end.

[2] skedaddled? '*Skale*, to scatter, in haymaking, is still used transitively in Cumberland.'—*E. H. Knowles.*

[3] See the note on Goldingham from *Ken. Ill.* p. 25; and *Nichols*, i. 458, in *Notes* at the end.

lectabl ditty of a song[1] wel apted too a melodious noiz[2], compoounded of six seuerall instruments al coouert, casting soound from *the* Dolphin's belly within; Arion, the seauenth, sitting thus singing (az I say) withoout.

Noow syr, the ditty in miter so aptly endighted to the matter, and after by voys so delicioously deliuerd: *the* song by a skilful artist intoo hiz parts so swéetly sorted: each part in hiz instrument so clean & sharpely toouched, euery instrument again in hiz kind so excellently tunabl: and this in the éeu[en]ing of the day, resoounding from the callm waters: whear prezens of her Maiesty, & longing too listen, had vtterly damped all noyz & dyn; the hole armony conueyd in tyme, tune, & temper, thus incomparably melodious: with what pleazure (Master Martin), with what sharpnes of conceyt, with what lyuely delighte, this moought pears into the heerers harts, I pray ye imagin yoor self az ye may; for, so God iudge me, by all the wit & cunning I haue, I cannot ex-

[†p. 44.] press, I promis yoo. *Mais †ieo bien vieu cela, Monseur, que forte grande est la pouuoyr qu'auoit la tresnoble Science de Musique sur les esprites humains*: perceiue ye me? I haue told ye a great matter noow. As for me, surely I was lulld in such liking, & so loth too leaue of, *that* mooch a doo, a good while after, had I, to fynde me whear I waz. And take ye this by the way, that for the smal skyl in muzik that God hath sent me, (ye kno it iz sumwhat,) ile set the more by my self while my name iz Laneham, and grace a God. A! muzik iz a nobl Art!

A! stay a while! see a short wit: by my trooth I had almost forgot. This daye waz a day of grace beside, whearin wear auaunced fyue gentlemen of woorshippe vnto the de-

Knights made. grée of knighthood: Sir Thomas Cecyl, sun & heyr vntoo the right honorabl the Lord Treazorer; Syr Henry Cobham, broother vnto the Lord Cobham; Syr Thomas Stanhop, Syr Arthur Basset, and Syr Thomas Tresham: and allso, by her highnes accustumed mercy & charitée, nyne cured of the peynfull and daungerous diseaz, called *the* kings euill; for that Kings & Quéenz of this Realm,

[†p. 45.] withoout oother medsin (saue only by †handling & prayerz), only doo cure it: bear with me, though perchauns I place not thoz Gentlmen in my recitall héer,

[1] In Gascoigne's account the song is given, but *Protheus* is the character instead of *Arion*, which is apparently an error.—*Nichols*, i. 458; *Ken. Ill.* p. 25, note 3. [2] 'noiz' = noise—a company, or band, of musicians.—*W. C.*

after theyr estatez: for I am neyther good heraud of armez, nor yet kno hoow they are set in the Subsydy bookez. Men of great woorship I vnderstand they are all.

Tuisday, 11. Tuisday, according to commaundement, cam oour Couentrée men: what their matter waz, of her highnes myrth and good acceptauns, and rewarde vntoo them, and of their reioysing thearat, I sheawd you afore, and so say the less noow.

Wedns. 12. Wednesday in the forenoon, preparacion was in hand for her Maiesty too haue supt in Wedgenall, a thrée myle west from the Castl. A goodly park of the Quéenz Maiestyez[1]: for that cauz, a fayr Pauilion, and other prouision accordingly thither sent & prepared: but by meanz of weather not so cléerly dispozed, the matter waz countermaunded again. That had her highnes hapned this daye too haue cummen abrode: there was made reddy a deuise of Goddessez & Nymphes[2]: which, az well for the ingenious argument, az for the wel handling of it in rime & endighting, [†p. 46.] woold vndooutedly haue gaind great lyking, & mooued no less delight. Of the particularitéez, whearof, I ceas to entreat: least, like the boongling carpentar, by missorting the péecez, I mar a good frame in the bad setting vp, or by my fond tempring afore hand embleamish the beauty, when it shoold be reard vp in déede.

A this day allso waz thear such earnest tallk & appointment of remoouing, that I gaue ouer my noting, and harkened after my hors.

Mary, syr, I must tell yoo: Az all endeuoour waz too mooue mirth & pastime (az I tolld ye): éeuen so a ridiculoous deuise of an auncient minstrell & hiz song waz prepared to haue been profferd, if méet time & place had béen foound for it. Ons in a woorshipfull company, whear, full appointed, he recoounted his matter in sort az it shoould haue been vttred, I chaunsed too be: what I noted, heer thus I tel yoo: A parson very méet séemed he for the purpoze, of a xlv.[3] yéers olld, apparelled partly as he woold himself. Hiz

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[1] The Duchess of Portland's copy reads "a goodly park of the right honourable my very good Lord the Earl of Warwick." It still belongs to that noble family, and is now called *Wedgnock Park.*—*Nichols's Progresses*, 1788, vol. i. p. 29.

[2] See *Notes* at the end.

[3] The Duchess of Portland's copy reads "xiv."—*Nichols*, ed. 1788, vol. i. p. 30.

cap of: his hed séemly roounded tonster wyze[1]: fayr kemb, *that* with a spoonge deintly dipt in a littl capons greaz was
[†p. 47.] finely smoothed too make †it shine like a Mallard's wing. Hiz beard smugly shauen: and yet hiz shyrt after the nu trink[2], with ruffs fayr starched, sléeked, and glistering like a payr of nu shooz: marshalld in good order: wyth a stetting stick, and stoout, that euery ruff stood vp like a wafer: a side goun of kendall green, after the freshnes of the yéer noow, gathered at the neck with a narro gorget, fastened afore with a white clasp and a keepar close vp to the chin: but easily for heat too vndoo when he list: Séemly begyrt in a red caddiz[3] gyrdl: from that a payr

[1] Fr. *tondre*, to sheere, clip, cut, powle, nott, pare round.—*Cotgrave.*

[2] ? trick, fashion.

[3] *Caddis*, worsted, such as is now termed *cruell*, used for the ornament of the dresses of servants and the lower classes in the 16th century. *Caddis* garters are mentioned by writers of that era as worn by country folks.—*Fairholt's Costume in England.*—"This description of the minstrel's dress is particularly valuable, as it gives a highly-finished portrait of a class of men long since entirely extinct; and therefore, as many parts of the costume alluded to in the text are now unknown, it will form an interesting note to consider over and to explain them. The person mentioned is stated to have resembled "a Squire Minstrel of Middlesex;" and from this Dr. Percy supposes, that "there were other inferior orders, as yeomen minstrels, or the like." Philip Stubbes, in his "Anatomy of Abuses," 1595, gives a particular detail of the *Ruff*, which is the first part of the minstrel's dress mentioned in the text. From this it may be learned, that *a setting stick*, also alluded to, was an instrument made either of wood or bone for laying the plaits of the ruff in proper form. "*A side gown of Kendal green*," was a long hanging robe of coarse green woollen cloth or baize, for the manufacture of which the town of Kendal in Westmoreland was very anciently celebrated. From Stafford's tract already cited (p. 28), it would appear that this cloth was appropriated to servants; as he there says, "For I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer, and a frise coate in winter; and with a plaine white hose made meete for his body; And with a piece of biefe, or some other dishe of sodden meate, all the weeke longe. Now he will looke to haue at the least for sommer, a coate of the finest cloth that may bee gotten for money, and his Hosen of the finest Kersey, and that of some straung die, as Flaunders die or French puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer if he weare cloth." (*Fol. 33 b.*) The mantle of Kendal-green, Laneham proceeds to state, was gathered at the neck with a *narrow gorget*, or collar. The gorget, which literally signifies a throat-piece, was originally a part of the female dress, and consisted of a long piece of cloth, or other stuff, wrapped several times about the neck, raised on either side the face, and secured in the front by long pins driven into the folds. The *white clasp and keeper* were probably formed of pewter, as the words "white metal" are often used in this sense in the writers of Laneham's period. A *red Caddis girdle* was one of those Spanish manufactures of which Stafford so much complains; they derived their name from being made at the city of Cadiz in Spain, out of the fells or untanned hides, which were sent from England to be formed into skins of Spanish leather. To this girdle hung, as usual, *a pair of Sheffield knives, capped*, or placed within a case; for as the use of forks was not known in England till about the year 1610, knives, for com-

of capped Sheffeld kniuez[1] hanging a to side: Out of hiz bozome drawne foorth a lappet of his napkin, edged with a blu lace, & marked with a trulooue[2], a hart, and A. D. for Damian: for he was but a bachelar yet.

Hiz gooun had syde[3] sleeuez dooun to midlegge, slit from the shooulder too the hand, & lined with white cotten. Hiz doobled sleeuez of blak woorsted, vpon them a[4] payr of poynets[5] of towny Chamblet[6] laced a long the wreast wyth blu threeden points, a wealt toward the hand of fustian anapes:[7] a payr of red neatherstocks: a pair of pumps on hiz féet, with a cross cut at the toze for cornz: not nu in-
[†p. 48.] déede, yet cleanly †blakt with soot, & shining az a shoing horn.

Aboout hiz nek a red rebond sutable too hiz girdl: hiz harp in good grace dependaunt before him: hiz wreast[8] tyed to a gréen lace, and hanging by: vnder the gorget of hiz gooun a fair flagon cheyn, (pewter, for) siluer, az a squier minstrel of Middilsex[9], that trauaild the cuntrée this soommer seazon vnto fairz & worshipfull mens hoousez: from hiz chein hoong a Schoochion, with mettall & cooller resplendant vpon hiz breast, of the auncient armez of Islington: vpon a question whearof: he, az one that waz wel schoold,

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mon purposes, were usually made in pairs. The word *napkin* is placed for handkerchief. The description of the minstrel's gown will easily be understood; and it is only requisite to remark upon it, that *fustian-a-napes* signifies Naples fustian, or what was sometimes called fustian bustian. *Nether stocks* were under stockings. The scutcheon about the minstrel's neck, alludes to an ancient custom for persons of that profession to wear the badge of that family by which they were retained; as the three belonging to the House of Percy wore each of them a silver crescent.

"Towards the end of the sixteenth century, this class of men had lost all their former credit, and were sunk so low in public estimation, that in 1597, 39th of Eliz. a statute was passed, by which minstrels, wandering abroad, were included with "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars," and were directed to be punished as such. This act seems to have put an end to the profession."—*Burn*, p. 107–8; *Nichols*, i. 461.

[1] See *Notes* at the end.

[2] A true-lover's knot. *Truelove* is *Herb Paris*, a quatrefoil whose leaves bear a sort of likeness to a true-lover's knot.—See Gloss. to my *Wright's Chaste Wife*.

[3] 1, wide; 2, long. [4] *Orig.* a a. [5] *Poynets*, Fr. wristbands.

[6] *Camlet* a mixed stuff of wool and silk, used for gowns, temp. Elizabeth and James I., and mentioned by writers of that era. It was originally manufactured of the hair of the camel, and from thence its name is derived.—*Fairholt.*

[7] *Fustian anapes* [=of Naples] is Naples fustian; sometimes called fustian bustian.—*Ken. Ill.* p. 101.

[8] wrest=tuning hammer, to wrest or turn the tuning pins of the harp. See p. 41, 52. [9] *Orig.* Middilsez.

& coold hiz lesson parfit withoout booke too aunswear at full, if question wear askt hym, declared: hoow the woorshipfull village of Islington in Middelsex, well knooen too bee one of the most auncient and best toounz in England next London at thiz day: for the feythfull fréendship of long time sheawed, az well at Cookez feast in Aldersgate stréete yeerely vpon holly Rood day[1], az allso at all solem bridalez in the citie of London all the yéer after: in well seruing them of furmenty for porage[2], not ouersod till it be too weak: of mylk for theyr flawnez[3], not pild nor chalked:
[†p. 49.] of cream for their custardes, not †frothed nor thykned with floour: and of butter for theyr pastiez, and pyepast, not made of well curds, nor gathered of whey in soommer: nor mingled in winter with salt butter watered or washt, did obteyn long ago thez woorshipfull armez in cooler & foorm az yee sée: which are the armz, a field argent, as the field and groound indeed, whearin the milkwiuez of thiz woorthy tooun, and euery man els in hys faculty doth trade for hiz liuing: on a Fess Tenny[4] thrée platez betwéene thrée milke tankerds proper. The thrée milk tankerds, az the proper vessell whearin the substauns and matter of their trade iz too and fro transported. The Fess Tenny, which iz a cooler betokening dout & suspition[5]: so az suspition & good heed taking, az wel to their markets & seruants, az to their customers, *that* they trust not too farre: may bring vnto them platez, that iz, coynnd syluer: thrée, that iz, sufficient and plentie, for so that number in Armory may well signifie.

For Creast, vpon a wad of ote strawe for a wreath, a boll of furmenty: Wheat (az yee kno) iz the most precious gyft
The horn spoonz.[6] of Ceres, and in the midst of it, sticking, a doozen of hornspoonz in a bunch, az the instruments†
[†p. 50.] meetest too eate furmenty porage wythall: a doozen, az a number of plenty compleat for full cheere or a banket, and of horn, az of a substauns more es-

[1] 14 Sept., the boys' nutting-day.—Ellis's *Brand*, i. 194–5.
[2] furmity: 'þe frumenty potage.'—*Babees Book*, p. 141, l. 391, etc.; *Percy MS. Loose Songs*, p. 61, 64–5.
[3] Fr. *flans:* m. Flawns, Custards, Egge-Pies.—*Cotgrave.* A Cheese-cake or Flawne.—*Hexham;* see *Babees Book* Index.
[4] An orange-coloured band, horizontally crossing the middle of the shield, of which it takes up the third part.—*Cussans.*
[5] Orange or yellow is the colour of doubt.
[6] 'spnooz' in the Brit. Mus. copy; but *spoonz* in the St. John's copy.

timabl then iz made for a great deel: bẽing nether so churlish in weight az iz mettall: nor so froward and brittl to manure az stone, nor yet so soily in vse, nor roough to the lips, az wood iz: but lyght, plyaunt, and smooth, that with a littl licking wooll allweiz be kept az clen az a dy. "With yoor paciens, Gentlmen," (quoth the minstrel) "be it said: wear it not in deede that hornz bee so plentie, hornware I beleeue woold bee more set by than it iz, and yet are thear in our parts, that wyll not stick too auoow that many an honest man both in citẽe and cuntrée hath had hiz hoous by horning well vpholden[1], and a daily frẽend allso at nẽed. And thiz (with your fauoour) may I further affirm: a very ingenioous parson waz hẽe, that for dignitée of the stuff, coold thus by spooning, deuise to aduauns the horn so neer too the hed.

"With great congruens also wear thẽez hornspoonz put too the wheat: az a token and porcion of Cornucopiæ, the horn of Achelous, which the Naiades[2] did fil with †all good frutez, corn & grain: & after did consecrate vnto aboundauns and plenty.

Ouid. met. lib. 9.

[†p. 51.]

"This skoochion, with beastz very aptly agrẽeing both to the armz and to the trade of the bearerz, glorioously supported. Betwẽen a gray Mare (a beast meetest for carying of mylktankards,) her pannell on her bak, az alwayz reddy for seruis at euery feast and brydale at neede, her tail splayd at most eaz: and her filly fole[3], fallo, and a flaxen mane after the syre.

"In the skro vndergrauen," (quoth hee) "thiz ear a proper woord, an hemistichi, well squaring with al the rest, taken out of Salerns chapter of things that most noorish man's body: *Lac, Caseus infans.* That iz, good milke and yoong chẽez. And thus mooch, Gintlmen, and pleaz you (quoth he) for the armz of oour woorshipfull tooun." And thearwithal made a manerly leg, and so held his peas.

Salern. ca.

Az the cumpany pawzed, and the minstrell sẽemde to gape after a praiz for hiz *Beauparlar:* and bicauz he had renderd hiz lesson so well: Saiz a good fello of the cumpany, "I am sory to see hoow mooch the poore minstrell mistakez the matter: for indeed the armez are thus.

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[1] See the Ballad of "Cuckold's Haven, or The Married Man's Miserie, who must abide the penaltie of being hornify'd" in the Ballad Soc.'s *Roxb. Ballads*, i. 148.

[2] Qu. Maiades?—*Nichols*, i. 464.

[3] fallow (-coloured) she-foal: *foal* is a horse-colt; *filly* a mare-colt.

[†p. 52.] "†Thrée milk tankerds proper, in a fielde of cloounted cream; thrée gréen chéesez vpon a shealf of cakebread. The fyrmenty boll and hornspoonz: cauz their profit coms all by horned beastz. Supported by a Maro with a gald back, & thearfore still couerd with a pannell, fisking with her tail for flyez, and her filly fole neying after the dam for suk. This woord *Lac, Caseus infans.* That is, a fresh cheez and cream, & the common cry that theez milk-winez make in London stréetes yéerly, betwixt Easter and Whitsontide: and this iz the very matter; I kno it well inough:" and so ended hiz tale, and sate him doonn again.

Héerat euery man laught a good, saue the minstrell: that, thoough the fooll wear made priny, all waz but for sport, yet too see him self thus crost with a contrary ku that hee lookt not for, woold straight haue geen[1] ouer all, waxt very wayward, eager[2], and soour: hoow be it, last, by sum entreaty & and many fayr woords, with sak & suger, we sweetned him againe, and after becam az mery az a py. Appeerez then a fresh, in hiz ful formalitée, with a lonely loock: after thrée loly cooursiez[3], cleered his vois with a hem and a reach, and [†p. 53.] spat oout withal, wiped† hiz lips with the hollo of his hand, for[4] fyling hiz napkin, temperd a string or too with his wreast: and after a littl warbling on hiz harp for a prelude, came foorth with a sollem song, warraunted for story oout of King Arthurz acts, the first booke and 26. chapter[5], whearof I gate a copy, and that iz this.

King Arthurs book.

SO it befell vpon a Penticost day,
When King Arthur at Camelot kept coourt rial,
With hiz cumly Quéen, dame Gaynoour the gay,
And many bolld Barrons sitting in hall,
Ladies apparaild in purpl and pall,
When herauds in hukes[6] herried full by[7],
"Largess! Largess! cheualiers treshardy!"

¶ A doouty Dwarf too the vppermost deas
Right peartly gan prik, and, knéeling on knee,
With steeuen[8] full stoout amids all the preas,

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[1] given. [2] Fr. *aigre.* [3] lowly curtsies.
[4] to prevent. Comparo, on the saving of the napkin, the *muffler* above, p. 24.
[5] See *Notes* at the end. [6] See *Notes* at the end.
[7] *Ken. Ill.* reads *hy* (high) and translates *herried*, cried, (Fr. *huier*).
[8] voice. A. Sax. *stefn.*

Said "hail, syr king! God thee saue and see!
King Ryens of Northgalez gréeteth well thee,
And bids that thy beard anon thou him send,
Or els from thy iawz he will it of rend.

"¶ For his robe of state, a rich skarlet mantell,
With a-leauen kings beards bordred aboout,
Hee hath made late, and yet in a cantell[1]
Iz leaft a place, the twelth to make oout: [p. 54.]
Wear thin must stand, bee thou neuer so stoout:
This must bee doon, I tell thee no fabl,
Mawgre the poour of all thy roound tabl."

¶ When thiz mortall message from hiz moouth waz past,
Great waz the brute in hall and in boour:
The King fumed, *the* quéen shriked, ladiez wear agast,
Princes puft, Bar[o]nz blustered, Lordz began too loour,
Knights stampt, squirez startld, az stéedz in a stoour[2],
Yeemen and pagez yeald[3] oout in the hall:
Thearwith cam in Syr Kay of Seneshall.

"¶ Sylens, my suffrainz," quoth the courteyz Knight,
And in that stoound the chearm becam still,
The Dwarfs dynner full deerly waz dight,
For wine and wastell[4] hée had at hiz will:
And when hee had eaten and fed hiz fill,
One hundred peeces of coyned gould
Wear giuen the Dwarfe for hiz message bolld.

"¶ Say too Syr Ryens, thou Dwarf," quoth the King,
"That for his proud message I him defy,
And shortly with basinz and panz will him ring
Oout of Northgalez, whearaz hée and I
With sweards (and no razerz) shall vtterly try
Which of vs both iz the better Barber:"
And thearwith he shook hiz sword Excalaber.

[†p. 56[5].] †At this, the minstrell made a pauz & a curtezy, for *Primus passus*[6]. More of the song iz thear, but

[1] A piece, or part. Shakspeare uses the word in King Henry IV. part 1. act 3, scene 1.

"And cuts me, from the best of all my land,
A huge half-moon, a monstrous *cantle* out.—*Burn*, p. 10.

[2] battle.—*Burn*. [3] yelled. [4] *Wastel*, fine bread.
[5] In the numbering of the pages in the original, 55 is skipped.
[6] First fitt, 1st canto. *Passus* is the name for the divisions in *Piers Plowman*.

I gat it not. Az for the matter, had it cum to the sheaw, I think the fello would haue handled it well ynoough.

Her highnes tarryed at Kyllingwoorth tyll the Wednesday after, being the 27 of this Iuly, and the nintéenth (inclusiue) of her Maiestiez cumming thither[1].

For which seuen daiz, perceyuing my notez so slenderly aunswering: I tooke it less blame too ceas, & thearof too write yoo nothing at al, then in such matterz to write nothing likely. And so mooch the rather (az I haue well bethooght me) that if I dyd but ruminate the dayz I haue spoken of, I shall bring oout yet sumwhat more, méet for yoor appetite, (thoogh a deinty tooth haue ye,) which I beleue yoor tender stomak will brook wel inoogh.

The seauenz. Whearof part iz: fyrst hoow according to her highnes name ELIZABETH, which I heer say oout of the Hebru signifieth (amoong oother) the *Seauenth of my God:* diuerz things heer did soo iustly in number square with the same. Az fyrst, her highnes hither cumming in this seauenth †moonth: then, prezented with the seauen prezents of the seauen Gods: and after, with the melody of the seauen sorted muzik in the dollphin, the Lakeladiez gyft. [†p. 57.]

Then, too, consider how fully the Gods (az it séemed) had conspyred most magnificently in aboundauns too bestow theyr influencez & gyfts vpon her coourt, thear too make her Maiesty merry.

Saturn and Pallas. Sage Saturn himself in parson (that bycauz of his lame leg coold not so well stur) in chayr thearfore too take order with the graue officerz of hoousehold, holpen in deed with the good aduise of his prudent Nees Pallas: That no vnruly body or disquiet disturb the nobl assemblée, or els be ons so bolld too enter within the Castl gatez. Awey with al rascallz, captiuez, melancholik, waiward, froward, Coniurerz, and Vsurers! and to haue laborers and vnderwoorkmen for *the* beautifying of ony place, alwey at hand, az they shoold be commaunded.

Iupiter. Iupiter. Sent parsonagez of hy honor & dignitée: Barons, Lords, Ladies, Iuges, Bishops, Lawyerz, Doctors: with them, vertu, noblness, equitée, liberalitée & compassion†: due seazon, & fayr weather: sauing that, at the petition of hiz déer sister Ceres, [†p. 58.]

[1] See *Notes* at the end.

he graunted a day or too of sum swéet shoourz for rypening of her corn that waz so well set, & too set forward haruest: Heerwith, bestood he such plenty of pleazaunt thunder, lightning, & thunderbollts, by hiz halting sun & fyermaster, Vulcan, stil fresh & fresh framed, alweyz so frequent, so intellabl, & of such continuauns in the spending (az I partly tolld ye) consumed, that surely he séemz too be, az of poour inestimabl, so, in store of municion, vnwastabl, For all Ouid's censure, that saiz:

Si quoties peccant homines, sua fulmina mittat
Iupiter: exiguo tempore inermis erit.

If Ioue shoold shoot hiz thunderbollts az oft as men offend,
Assure yoo hiz artillary wold soon be at an end.

What a number of estatez & of nobilitée had Iupiter assembled thear, gess yée by this: that of sort woorshipfull thear wear in the coourt dayly aboone fourty, whearof the meynest, of a thoouzand mark yéerly reuenu, and many of mooch more. This great gyft byside did hiz deitée cast vpon her highnes, too haue fayr & seazonabl weather at her ooun appointment: ‖According whearvnto, her Ma- [‖p. 59.] iestye so had. For her gracious prezens thearfore with this great gift indewed, Lichféeld, Worceter, and Middelton[1], with manye placez mo, made humbl sute vntoo her highnes too cum: too such whearof as her Maiesty coold, it cam: and they seazon acceptabl.

Phœbus. Phœbus. Biside his continuall & most delicious muzik (az I haue toold yoo), appointed he Princes too adoourn her highnes coourt, Coounselerz, Herauds, and sanguine yooth, pleazaunt & mery, costlye garments, learned Phizicianz, & no néede of them.

Iuno. Iuno. Golld cheynez, Ouchez, Iewels of gret price, & rich attyre, woorn in mooch grace & good beséeming, without pryde, or emulacion of ony.

Mars. Mars. Captainz of good conduct, Men skylfull in feats of armz, pollitik in stratagemz, Good coorage in good quarelz, valiant, & wizehardy: Abandoning pikquarrels & ruffianz: appoynting also Pursyuaunts, currarz[2] & posts, still féeding her highnes with nuze & intelligencez from all parts.

Venus. Venus. Vntoo the Ladyez & Gentl-§wemen, [§p. 60.] beauty, good fauour, cumlinesse, galant attyre,

[1] See *Notes* at the end. [2] couriers.

dauncing with cumly grace, swéet vois in song, & pleazaunt tallk: with express commaundment & charge vntoo her sunn[1], on her blessing, that he shoote not a shaft in the Coourt all the while her highnes remayned at Killingwoorth.

Mercuri. Mercuri. Learned men in Sciencez, Poets, Merchaunts, Painterz, Karuerz, Players, Engyners, Deuyserz, & dexteritée in handling of all pleazaunt attempts.

Luna. Luna. Callm nights for quiet rest, and syluer moonshine, that nightly in-déede shone for most of her Maiestyez béeing thear.

Plutus. Blinde Plutus. Bags of moony, Custumerz[2], Exchaungers, Bankers, Store of riches in plate and in coyn.

Bacchus. Bacchus. Full Cups euery whear, euery oour, of al kynds of wyne.

Neptune. Thear waz no deintée that the sea coold yéeld, but Neptune (thoough hiz reign at the néerest ly well ny a hundred mile of) did dayly send in great plenty, swéet and freash. As for freashwater fish, the store of all sorts waz aboundaunt.

Ceres. And hoow bountiful Ceres in prouizion waz, gess ye by this: that in lyttl more then *a thrée dayz space, 72. tunn of Ale & Béer waz pyept[3] vp quite, what that mighte, whilst with it of bread, beside meat, I report me to yoo. And yet, master Controller, master Coferar, and diuerz officers of the Coourt, sum honorabl, and sundrye right woorshipfull, placed at Warwik for more rooum in the Castl. But heer was no ho[4], Master Martin, in deuoout drinking allwey: that broughte a lak[5] vnlookt for; whiche being knoen too the Woorshipfull my Lord's good neighboourz, cam thear in a too dayz space, from sundry friendz, a reléef of a xl. tunn, till a nu supply was gotten agayn: and then too oour drinking a freshe, az fast az euer we did.

[*p. 61.]

Flora. Flora. Abrode & within the hoous ministred of flourz so great a quantitée: of such swéet sauoour, so beautifully hued, so large and fayr of proporcion, and of so straunge kindez & shapez, that it waz great pleasure too

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[1] Cupid.

[2] Collectors of the customs, or duties payable at ports to the Queen. See Master Smith, *Custumer*, p. 61.

[3] piped, suckt, swallowed. [4] halt, stop. [5] *Orig.* a-lak.

sée: & so mooch the more, az thear waz great store yet counterfet & foormed of featherz by art, lyke glorioous too the sheaw az wear the naturall.

Protheus. Protheus. Hiz Tumbler that coold by nimblness cast himself intoo so many† foorms & facionz. [†p. 62.]

Pan. Pan. Hiz mery morrys dauns, with their pype & taber.

Bellona. Bellona. Her quintine knights, & proper bickerings of the Couentrée men.

Polyphemus. Polyphemus. Neptunez sun & heyr (let him, I pray, & it be but for hiz father's sake and for his good wyll, he allowed for a God,) with hiz bearz, hiz bearwhealps, and bandogs.

Aeolus. Æolus. Hollding vp hiz windez while her highnes at any tyme took pleazure on the water, and staying of tempests during [her] abode héer.

Syluanus. Syluanus. Beside hiz plentifull prouizion of fooul for deynty viaunds, his pleazaunt and swéet singing byrds: whearof I will sheaw yoo more anon.

Echo. Echo. Her wel endighted dialog.

Faunus. Faunus. Hiz ioly Sauage.

Genius. Genius loci. Hiz tempring of al things within & without, with apt tyme & place too pleazure & delight.

Charites. Then the thrée Charites: Aglaia, with her lightsum gladnes. Thalia, her floorishing freshnes. Euphrosyne, her cheerfullnes of spirite; and with theez three in one assent, Concordia: with †her amitée and good agréement. [†p. 63.] That too hoow great effects their poourz wear pooured oout heer among vs, let it bée iudged by this: that by a multytude thus met, of a thrée or foour thoouzand, euery day, and diuerz dayz more, of so sundry degrées, professions, agez, appetytz, dispozicions, & affections: such a drifte of tyme was thear passed, with such amitée, looue, pastime, agréement, and obediens whear it shoold: and without quarrel, iarring, grudging, or (that I coold heer) of yll woord betwéen any. A thing, master Martin, very rare & straunge; and yet no more straunge then tru.

parcæ. The Parcæ (as earst I shoold haue sayd) the first night of her Maiestiez cumming: they—héering & séeing so precioous ado héer at a place vnlookt for, in an vplondish cuntrée so far within the Ream,—preassing intoo euery stéed whear her highnes went, whearby so

duddld[1] with such varietee of delyghts, did set aside their huswifrye, coold not for their harts tend their work a whyt. But after they had séen her Maiesty a bed, gat them a prying into euery place; olld hags, az fond of nuellries[2], az yoong girls that had neuer séen Court afore*: but neyther
[*p. 64.] full with gazing, nor wery with gadding, leaft of yet for that time; and at high midnight, gate them gigling, (but not alooud,) into the prezens Chamber: minding indéed with their prezent diligens, too recompens their former slaknes.

So, setting themseluez thus dooun too their woork: "alas!" sayz Atropos, "I haue lost my shéerz:" Lachesis laught apace, and woold not draw a thréed: "And thinke ye, damez, that ile hoold the distaff whyle both ye sit idle? why, no! by my mootherz soll!" *quo*d Clotho. Thearwith, fayr lapt in a fine lawn the spindel and rok[3], that waz dizend with pure purpl sylk, layd they safely vp toogyther: that of hir Maiestyez distaff, for an eightéen dayz, thear waz not a thréed spoon, I assure you.

The two systers after that, (I hard say,) began their woork again: *that* long may they continu; but Atropos hard no tydings of her sheers; and not a man that moned her loss. She iz not beloued surely; for this I can tell yoo: that whither it bee for hate too the hag, or looue to her highnes, or els for both, euery man prayz God she may neuer find
[†p. 64.] them for that woork, and so pray I †dayly and duly with the deuooutest.

Thus partly ye perceyue noow, hoow greatly the Gods can do for mortals, and hoow mooch alwey they looue whear they like, that what a gentl Ioue waz thys, thus curteoosly too contriue heer such a treyn of Gods! Nay then rather, master Martin, (to cum oout of oour poeticalitéez, & too talk no more serioous tearms), what a magnificent lord may we iustly account him, that cold so highli cast order for such a Iupiter, & all hiz Gods besid, that none with hiz influens, good property, or prezent, wear wanting: but aalweis redy at hand, in such order and aboundans, for the honoring and delight of so high a Prins, oour most gracious Quéen & souerain. A prins (I say,) so singuler in preeminens & worthines abooue al other Princes and dignitéez of oour

[1] muddled, confused. Cp. *doddle* to totter; *doddy-pate*, *doddypoll*, a numskull, fool, in my *Ballads from MSS*, vol. i.

[2] novelries, novelties, new things.

[3] See *Notes* at the end.

time: thoogh I make no comparison too yeerz past, to him that in thiz point, either of ignorauns (if any such can be) or els of maleuolens, woold make any doout: '*Sit liber iudex*' (az they say) let him look on the matter, and aunswer himself: he haz not far too trauell.

Az for the Amplitude of his Lordship's mynde: all bee it that I, poor soll, can in §conceit no more attain vntoo, [§p. 66.] then iudge of a gem, whearof I haue no skill, ye, thoogh daily worn & resplendant in myne ey: yet sum of the vertuze and propertiez thearof, in quantitée or qualitée so apparaunt az cannot be hidden, but séene of all men, moought I be the boolder too reaport her vnto yoo: but as for the valu, yoor iewellers by their Carrets let them cast, and they can.

And fyrst: who that considerz vntoo the stately seat of Kenelwoorth Castl, the rare beauty of bilding that his honor hath auaunced[1]: all of the hard quarry stone: euery room so spacioous, so well belighted, and so hy roofed within: So seemely too sight by du proportion without: a day time on euerye side so glittering by glasse, a nights by continuall brightnesse of candel, fyre, & torchlight, transparent throogh the lyghtsom wyndz, az it wear the Egiptian Pharos relucent vntoo all the Alexandrian coast; or els (too tallke merily with my mery freend) thus radiaunt, as thoogh Phœbus for hiz eaz woold rest him in the Castl, and not euery night so to trauell dooun vnto the Antipodes. Heertoo, so fully furnisht of rich apparell, & vtensilez *apted [*p. 67.] in all pointes to the best.

The Garden. Vntoo thiz, hiz honorz exquisit appointment of a beautifull garden[2], an aker or more of quantitee, that lyeth on the north thear. Whearin, hard all along the Castl wall, iz reared a pleazaunt Terres of a ten

[1] See *Notes* at the end.

[2] It would appear from the "Secret Memoirs of the Earl of Leicester," that the magnificent gardens and spacious parks at Kenilworth were not completed without some oppression on the part of their possessor, as the unknown author of the above work thus speaks concerning them:—"The like proceedings he used with the tenants about Killingworth, where he received the said Lordship and Castle from the Prince, in gift, of 24*l.* yearly rent, or thereabouts, hath made it better than 500*l.* by year, by an old record also found, by great good fortune, in a hole of the wall, as it is given out (for he hath singular good luck always in finding out records for his purpose;) by virtue whereof he hath taken from his tenants round about, their lands, woods, pastures, and commons, to make himself parks, chases, and other commodities therewith, to the subversion of many a good family which was maintained there beforethis

foot hy & a twelue brode, éeuen vnder foot, & fresh of fyne grass: az iz allso the side thearof toward the gardein, in whiche by sundry equall distauncez, with obelisks, sphearz, and white bearz[1], all of stone, vpon theyr curioouz basez, by goodly shew wear set: too theez, too fine arbers redolent by swéet trées and floourz, at ech end one, the garden plot

devourer set foot in that country." At a subsequent part of the same volume is mentioned Lord Leicester's "intolerable tyranny" upon the lands of one Lane, "who offered to take Killingworth Castle." A royal favourite, however, and a successful minister, was never yet without enemies, and it is certain that Lord Leicester was not; the whole of the volume out of which these extracts have been made, is filled with charges of the most dreadful crimes with which human nature can be stained; yet even these are related with such levity, such seeming familiarity with vice, that the reader is tempted to believe that a great proportion of it was fabricated by malice, and that the author was even worse than the character he describes. But to return:—The garden mentioned in the text will doubtless remind some readers of those splendid pleasure-grounds which belonged to Lord Burleigh, at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, and Sir Walter Raleigh's at Shirburne Castle in Dorsetshire. Of the former, Peck, in his "Desiderata Curiosa," says, "He also greatly delighted in making gardens, fountains, and walks, which at Theobalds were perfected most costly, beautifully, and pleasantly. Where one might walk two miles in the walks before he came to their ends." Sir Paul Hentzner, in his "Journey into England," when speaking of the same place, describes it more particularly. "From this place" [i. e. the gallery,] "one goes into the garden, encompassed with a ditch full of water, large enough for one to have the pleasure of going in a boat, and rowing between the shrubs; here are great variety of trees and plants; labyrinths made with a great deal of labour; a *jet d'eau*, with its bason of white marble; and columns and pyramids of wood and other materials up and down the garden: After seeing these, we were led by the gardener into the summer-house, in the lower part of which, built semicircularly, are the twelve Roman Emperors, in white marble, and a table of touchstone; the upper part of it is set round with cisterns of lead, into which water is conveyed through pipes, so that fish may be kept in them, and in summer time they are very convenient for bathing; in another room for entertainment, very near this, and joined to it by a little bridge, is an oval table of red marble." Concerning the pleasure-grounds at Shirburne, in Peck's work before cited, there is only a notice that Sir Walter Raleigh had drawn the river through the rocks into his garden; but Coker states, that he built in the park adjoining to the Castle, "from the ground, a most fine house, which he beautified with orchards, gardens, and groves, of such variety and delight, that whether you consider the goodness of the soil, the pleasantness of the seat, and other delicacies belonging to it, it is unparalleled by any in these parts." The above extracts will be an amusing counterpart to Laneham's elaborate description of Lord Leicester's gardens.—*Burn*, p. 110–112; *Nichols*, i. 472.

[1] "These effigies were allusive to the ancient badge of the Earls of Warwick, which was, *a bear erect Argent, muzzled Gules, supporting a ragged staff of the first*; the ragged staffs were introduced in another part of the garden, *vide ante*, page 75. Lord Leicester's connexion with the Earls of Warwick was through the houses of Lisle and Beauchamp, brought into the family of Dudley by his mother, Elizabeth Talbot. In 1561, Ambrose Dudley, Robert's elder brother, was made Earl of Warwick, and consequently the badge was thus introduced." —*Burn*, p. 112; *Nichols*, i. 473.

vnder that, with fayr alleyz gréen by grass, éeuen voided from the borderz a both sydez, and sum (for chaunge) with sand, not light or to soft, or soilly by dust, but smooth and fyrme, pleasaunt too walk on az a sea shore when the water iz auaild[1]: then, much gracified by du proporcion of four éeuen quarterz: in *the* midst of each, vpon a base a too foot square, & hy, séemly borderd of it self, a square pilaster rizing pyramidally, of a fyftéen foote hy: Simmetrically péerced through, from a foot beneath, vntill a too foot
[†p. 68.] of the top: whear vpon, for a Capitell, an Orb of a ten† inches thik: euery of théez (with hiz base) from the groound too the top of one hole pées, heawen oout of hard Porphiry, and with great art & héed (thinks me) thyther conueyd, & thear erected.

Whear further allso, by great cast & cost, the swéetnes of sauoour on all sidez, made so respiraunt[2] from the redolent[3] plants and fragrant earbs and floourz, in foorm, cooller and quantitée, so delicioously variant: and frute Trées bedecked with their Applz, Peares, and ripe Cherryez.

The Cage. And vnto theez, in the midst, agaynst *the* Terres: a square cage, sumptuoous and beautifull, ioyned hard to the Northwall (that a that side gards the gardein, as the gardein the Castl), of a rare form and excellency was reyzed: in heyth a twentye foot, thyrty long, and a foourtéen brode. From the ground strong & close, reared breast hy, whearat a soyl of a fayr moolding was coouched all aboout: From that vpward, foour great wyndoz a froont, and too at each éend, euery one a fyue foot wide, az many mo éeuen aboove them, diuided on all parts by a transum[4] and Architraue[5] so likewize raunging aboout *the* Cage. Each windo arched in the top, and §parted from oother in eeuen
[§p. 69.] distauns by flat fayr bolteld[6] columns, all in foorm & beauty like, that supported a cumly Cornish,

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[1] avaled, lowered, gone down, ebbed. Fr. *à val.*

[2] Fit for breathing, refreshing; Lat. *respira-*, revive, be refreshed.

[3] Lat. *redolent-*, emitting a scent, diffusing an odour.

[4] *Transom*, an overthwart Beam or Brow-Post: *Kersey's Phillips;* the piece of Timber which is fram'd across in a double light Window: *Blount.*

[5] *Architrave*, the main Beam in any Building, and the first Member of the Entablature, *i. e.* that part of a Stone-Pillar which is above the Capital and below the Frize: In Timber-Buildings, it is called the *Reason-piece* or *Master-Beam;* in Chimneys, the *Mantle-piece;* and over the Jambs of Doors or Lintels of Windows, 'tis termed *Hyperthyron.*—*Kersey's Phillips.*

[6] *Boltel* is a term used in building, to signify any prominence or jetting-out beyond the flat face of the wall.—*Burn*, p. 112; *Nichols*, i. 474.

couched al along vpon *the* hole[1] square. Which, with a wire net, finely knit, of mashez sixe square, an inch wyde (az it wear for a flat roof) and likewise the space of euery windo, with great cunning and cumlines, éeuen and tight, waz al ouerstrained. Vnder the Cornish again, euery part beautifyed with great Diamons, Emerauds, Rubyes, and Saphyres: poynted, tabld, rok, and roound[2], garnisht with their golld by skilfull hed and hand, and by toile and pensill so lyuely exprest, az it mought bee great marueil and pleasure to consider how neer excellency of art could approch vntoo perfection of nature.

Bear with me, good cuntréeman, thoogh thinges be not sheawed heer az well az I woold, or az well as they shoold. For indéed I can better imagin & conceyue that I sée, then wel vtter, or duly declare it. Holez wear thear also, and cauerns, in orderly distauns & facion, voyded intoo the wall, az wel for heat, for coolnes, for roost a nightz, & refuge in weather, az allso for breeding, when time iz. More, fayr, eeuen, and fresh †holly treez, for pearching and proining[3], set within, tooward each eend one. Heereto their diuersitée of meats, theyr fine seueral vessels for their water, and sundry grainz, And a man skilful and diligent to looke too them and tend them.

[†p. 70.]

But (shall I tell yoo) the siluer soounded Lute, withoout the swéet toouch of hand: the glorioous goollden cup, withoout the fresh fragrant wine; or the rich ring with gem, without the fayr feawtered[4] fiynger, iz nothing indéede in hiz proper grace & vse: Euen so his Honor accounted of thiz mansion, till he had plast thear tenauntes according: Had it thearfore replenishte with liuely Burds, English, French, Spanish, Canarian, and (I am deceaued if I saw not

[1] *Orig.* bole.

[2] It is evident that these precious stones were imitated in painting; and that they were meant to represent the gems in their various appearances. *Pointed*, or rose, as it is termed by the lapidaries, is when a stone is cut with many angles rising from an octagon, and terminating in a point. *Tabled* is when a diamond is formed with one flat upper surface; and the word table also signifies the principal face. *Rough* is understood to mean the gem in its primary state, when its radiance is seen to sparkle through the dross of the mine. *Round* denotes the jewel when it is cut and polished with a convex surface. The expression, "Garnisht with their golld," which follows in the text, signifies ornamented with their settings.—*Burn*, p. 112–13; *Nichols*, i. 474.—See, also, *Kenilworth Illustrated*, p. 102, where the writer says, that "rough" is the modern term for Laneham's "rok."

[3] preening: for birds to trim and clean their feathers on.

[4] *? featured*, shaped, or *feutred*, poised.

sum) African. Whearby, whither it becam more delightsum in chaunge of tunez and armony too the eare: or els in differens of coollerz, kyndez, & propertyez too the ey, Ile tell yoo if I can when I hane better bethought me.

The Gardiner. One day (Master Martin) az the Gardin-door waz open, & her highnes a hunting, by licens of my good fréend Adrian I cam in at a bek, but woold skant oout with a thrust: for sure I waz loth so soon to depart.

[§p. 71.] §Well may this (Master Martyn) bee sumwhat too magnitude of mynde: but more thearof az ye shall kno, more cauz ye shall haue so too think: heer out what I tel yoo, and tell me when we méet.

The Fountain. In the center (az it wear) of this goodly Gardein, was theer placed a very fayre Foountain, cast intoo an eight square, reared a four foot hy, from the midst whearof a Colum vp set in the shape of too Athlants ioined togeather a backhalf, the toon looking East, toother West, with theyr hands vpholding a fayr formed boll, of a thrée foot ouer: from wheans sundrye fine pipez did liuely distill continuall streamz intoo the receyt[1] of the Foountayn, maynteyned styll too foot déep by the same fresh falling water: whearin pleazauntly playing too & fro, & round about, Carp, Tench, Bream, and for varietée, Pearch & Eel, fysh fayrliking all, and large; in the toppe, the ragged staffe[2], which, with the boll, the pillar, and eyght sides beneath, wear all heawen oout of rich & hard white Marbl. A one syde, Neptune with his Tridental Fuskin[3] triumphing in hiz Throne, trayled into the déep by his marine horsez. On another, Thetis in her chariot drawn *by her Dollphins.

[*p. 72.] Then, Triton by hiz fyshez. Héer, Protheus hearding hiz sea buls. Thear, Doris & her dooughterz solacyng a sea & sandz. The wauez soourging with froth & fome, entermengled in place with whalez, whirlpoolz[4], sturgeonz, Tunneyz, Conchs, & wealks: all engrauen by exquisit deuize and skill, so az I maye thinke this not much inferioour vnto Phœbus gatez, which (Ouid sayz), & peraduentur a pattern to thiz, *that* Vulcan himself dyd cut: whearof such was the excellency of art, that the woork in valu surmoounted the stuff; and yet wer the gatez all of clean massy syluer.

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[1] pool, basin. [2] See note 2 above, p. 9.
[3] Lat. *fuscina*, a three-pronged spear, a trident.
[4] Fr. *Horepole: f.*, A whirlepoole (fish).—*Cotgrave.*

Héer wear thinges, ye see, moought enflame ony mynde too long after looking: but whoo so was found so hot in desyre, with the wreast[1] of a Cok was sure of a coolar: water spurting vpward with such vehemency, az they shoold by & by be moystned from top too to: The hées to sum laughing, but the shées to more sport.

Thiz sumtime waz occupied to very good pastime[2].

A Garden then so appoynted, az whearin aloft vpon swéet shadoed wallk of Terres, in heat of Soomer, too féel the pleazaunt† whysking winde abooue, or delectabl coolnes of the foountain spring beneath: Too tast of delicioous strawberiez, cheryez, & oother frutez, éeuen from their stalks: Too smell such fragrancy of swéet odoourz breathing from the plants, earbs, & floourz: Too heer such naturall meloodioous musik, and tunez of burds: To haue in ey, for myrth, sumtime theez vndersprynging streamz; then, the woods, the waters (for both pool & chase wer hard at hand in sight), the deer, the peepl (that oout of the East arber in the base coourt, allso at hande in view), the frute trées, the plants, the earbs, the floourz, the chaunge in coolers, the Burds flyttering, the Foountaine streaming, the Fysh swymming: all in such delectabl varietée, order, dignitée: whearby at one moment, in one place, at hande, without trauell, too haue so full fruition of so many Gods blessinges, by entyer delight vnto al sencez (if al can take) at ones: for Etymon of the woord woorthy to bée calld Paradys[3]: and though not so goodly az Paradis, for want of the fayr Riuers, yet better a great deel by the lak of so vnhappy a trée. Argument most certein of a right nobl minde, that in this soort coold §haue thus all contriued.

[†p. 73.]

Paradisus. Græc. Hortus amœniss. Aut Hebræ. Pardes, id est, Hortus.

[§p. 74.]

But, Master Martin, yet one wyndlesse[4] must I featch, too make ye one more fayr coorz, and I can: and cauz I speak of one: let me tel yoo a littl of the dignitée of onehod, whearin allweyz al hy Deitee, al Soueraintee, Préeminens, Principalitée, and Concord withoout pos-

The number 1.

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[1] twist, turn.

[2] This sentence is wanting in the Dutchess of Portland's copy.—*Nichols*, ed. 1788, i. 46.

[3] Laneham, in making use of this expression, gave to Lord Leicester's gardens a name which it was customary to apply to pleasure-grounds and houses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as in the instances of Wressell and Lekinfield, in the East Riding of Yorkshire.—*Burn*, p. 113 *Nichols*, i. 477.

[4] See *Notes* at the end.

sibilitée of disagreement, iz conteyned. Az one God, one Sauioour, one Feith, one Prins, one Sun, one Phenix; and, az one of great wizdom sayz, one hart, one wey[1]. Whear one hod reinz, ther quiet bears rule, & discord fliez a pase. Thrée again may signify cumpany, a méeting, a multitude, pluralitée: so az all talez and numbrings from too vntoo thrée, and so vpward, may well be counted numberz, till they moount vntoo infinitée, or els too confusion, which thing the sum of Too can neuer admit: nor it self can well bee coounted a number, but rather a fréendly coniunction of too ones, that, keeping in a synceritée of accord, may purport vnto vs, Charitée each too other, mutuall looue, agréement, & integritée of friendship withoout dissimulation. Az iz in thez: The too testamentes. The too Tables of the Law. The too great lights, *Duo luminaria*† *magna*, The Sun & Moon.

[†p. 75.] And but mark a lyttl, I pray, and see hoow of all things in the world, oour toongs in tallk doo alweyz so redily trip vpon tooz, payrz, & cooplz: sumtymez as of things in equality, sumtime of differens, sumtime of *con*trariez, or for *com*paryzon, but chéefly, for the most part, of things that betwéen *them*seluez do well agrée & ar fast linked in amitée: Az fyrst, for pastymez, hoounds and hawks: déer, red & fallo; hare and fox; partrich & fezaunt; fysh & fooul; carp & tench. For warz, spear & shéeld, hors & harneis, swoord & bukler. For sustenauns, wheat & barly, peaz and beanz, meat and drinke, bread & meat, béer & ale, appls and pearz.

But least by such dualitéez I draw you too far: let vs heer stay, and cum néerer home. Sée what a sort of fréendly binitéez we oour seluez doo consist & stond vpon. Fyrst, oour too féet, too legs, too knéez, so vpward: and aboove, too shoolderz, too armz & too hands. But chéefly our principll Too, that iz, body and soll: then in the hed, whear all oour sensez méet, and allmost all in Tooz: too noze-thrills, too earz, and too eyz. So ar we of fréendly Tooz, from top too to. Wel, to this number of binitéez§, take

[§p. 76.] The two Diallz. ye one mo for an vpshot, & héer an éend. Too Dyallz ny vnto the battilments ar set aloft vpon too of the sidez of Cezarz toour, one East, thoother Soouth[2]; for so stond they best to sheaw the oourz too the

[1] The motto of the great Lord Bacon was *Cor unum, una via.*—*Ken. Ill.* p. 38.

[2] The marks occasioned by fastening up these dials are very distinct and obvious at the present day (1821).—*Ken. Ill.* p. 38, note 4.

tooun & cuntrée: both fayre, large, and rich, by vyse[1] for groound, & goold for letterz, whearby they glitter conspicuous a great wey of. The clokbell that iz good & shrill, waz commaunded too silens at first, and in déede sang not a note all the while her highnes waz thear; the clok stood also still withall. But mark noow, whither wear it by chauns, by constellation of starz, or by fatall appoyntment (if fatez and starz doo deal with dialz). Thus waz it in déede: The handz of both the tablz stood firm and fast, allweyz poynting too iust too a clok, still at too a clok. Which thing beholding by hap at first, but after seriously marking in déed, enprinted intoo me a déepe sign & argument certein, That thiz thing, amoong the rest, waz for full signifiauns of his Lordship's honorabl, frank, frendly, and nobl hart toward al estates. Which, whither cum they to stay & take chéer, or straight to returne: too see, or to be séene: cum they for duty too her Maiesty or looue *too hiz Lordship, or for both; cum they early or late: for his Lordship's part, they cum allweyz all at too a clok, een iump[2] at too a clok: That iz to say, in good harte, good acceptauns, in amitée, and freendlye wellcoom. Who saw els that I saw, in right must say az I say. For so manye thinges byside, Master Humfrey, wear heerin so consonant vnto my construction, that thiz poynting of the clok (to my self) I took in amitée, as an oracle certain. And héer iz my windlesse, lyke yoor coorse as pleaz ye.

The Diallz at ii. a clok.

[*p. 77.]

But noow, syr, to cum to eend. For receyuing of her hig[h]nes, and entertainment of all thoother estatez. Syns of delicatez that ony wey mought serue or delight: az of wyne, spice, deynty viaunds, plate, Musik, ornaments of hoous, rich arras & sylk, (too say nothing of *the* meaner thinges,) the mass by prouizion waz heaped so hoouge, which the boounty in spending did after bewray. The conceit so déep in casting the plat at first. Such a wizdom and cunning in acquiring things so rich, so rare, and in such abundauns: by so imminens[3] & profuse a charge of expens, whiche by so honorabl seruis & exquisit order, curteizy †of officerz, and humanitée of al, wear after so boountifully bestoed and spe*n*t, what may this express, what may this set oout vntoo vs, but only a magnifyk minde, a singuler

[†p. 78.]

[1] See *Notes* at the end.
[2] plump, exactly. Did the two mean Elizabeth and Leicester?
[3] immense; or noteworthy, wondrous, startling, from *eminens*.

wizdoom, a prinsly purs, and an heroicall hart? If it wear my theam, Master Martin, too speake of hiz Lordship's great honor & magnif[i]cens, though it be not in me too say sufficiently, az bad a penclark az I am, yet coold I say a great deel more.

The great Tent.

But being heer now in magnificens, & matters of greatnes: it fals wel too mynd, The greatnes of his honor's Tent, that for her Maiestyez dining was pighte at long Ichington, the day her highnes cam to Killingworth Castl. A tabernacl indéed, for number and shift of large and goodlye roomz, for fayr & eazy offices, both inward & ootward, al so likesum in order & eysight, that iustly for dignitée may be comparabl with a beautifull Pallais, & for greatnes & quantitée with a proper tooun, or rather, a Cittadell. But to be short, least I kéepe yoo too long from the Ryall Exchaunge noow, and too cauz yoo conceyue mooche matter in feawest woordes: the Iron bedsted of Og the King of Basan (ye wot) waz foour yards and a halfe long, and too yards §wide[1], whearby ye consider a Gyaunt of a great proportion waz he. This tent had seauen cart lode of pynz[2] perteining too it: noow for the greatness, gess az ye can.

Deut. 3. [§p. 79.]

And great az it waz (too marshall oour matters of greatnes togither), not forgetting a Weather at Grafton, brought too the Coort, that for body and wooll was exceding great: the meazure I tooke not; let me sheaw you with what great marueyl a great Chyld of Leycetershire, at this long Ichington, by the Parents waz prezented: great (I say) of limz & proportion, of a foour foot & foour inches hy: and els lanuginoous[3] az a lad of eyghtéen yee[r]z, béeing indeede auowd too be but six yéer olld: nothing more bewraying hiz age then hiz wit: that waz, as for thooz yeers, simpl & childish.

Terent.[4] Bias.

As for vnto hiz Lordship, hauing with such greatnes of honorabl modestye & benignitée so passed foorth, as *Laudem sine inuidia et amicos pararit*, By greatnesse of well dooing, woon with all sorts to bée in such reuerens, az: *De quo mentiri fama veretur*. In syncerité of fréendship so great, az no man more deuooutly woorships.

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[1] Deuteronomy, chap. iii. verse 11.—*Burn.*

[2] The pins or pegs driven into the ground to hold the tent-ropes. (See note [2], p. 5 above.)

[3] Lat. *lanuginosus*, full of, or abounding in *lanugo* (a wool-like production, down, etc.), hence 'covered with down, downy.'—*White and Riddle.*

[4] Terentius, *Andr.* T. i. 39.—*Nichols*, ed. 1788, i. 50.

[*p. 80.] **Illud amicitiæ sanctum et venerabile nomen.* Ouid.

So great in liberalitie, az hath no wey to heap vp the mass of hiz trezure, but only by liberal gyuing & boounteoous bestoing hiz trezure: foloing (az it séemez) *the* saw[1] of Martiall[2], that sayth,

Extra fortunam est, quicquid donatur amicis;
Quas dederis, solas semper habebis opes.

Oout of all hazered doest thou set that to thy freends thoou gyuest:
A surer trezure canst thoou not haue euer whyle thoou lyuest.

What may théez greatnesses bode, but only az great honor, fame, & renooum, for théez parts héer awey, az euer waz vntoo thoz too nobl Greatz: the Macedonian Alexander in Emathia or Grées, or to Romane Charles in Germanye or Italy? which, wear it in me ony wey to set oout, no man of all men, by God (Master Martin), had euer more cauz, and *that* héerby consider yoo. It pleazed his honor to beare me good wil at fyrst, & so too continu. To haue giuen me apparail, éeuen from hiz bak, to get me allowauns in *the* stabl, too aduauns me vntoo this worshipfull office, so néer the most honorabl Councell, to help me in my licens of Beanz (though indéed I do not so much vze it, for I thank God I néed not), to permit my good Father to
[†p. 81.] serue the stabl. †Whearby I go noow in my sylks, *that* else might ruffl in my cut canues: I ryde now a hors bak, that els many timez mighte mannage it a foot: am knoen to their honors, & taken foorth with the best, that els might be bidden to stand bak my self: My good Father a good reléef, that hee farez mooch the better by; and none of theez for my dezert, eyther at fyrst or syns: God, hee knoez. What say ye, my good fréend Humfrey? shoold I not for euer honor, extol him, al *the* weyz I can? Yes, by your leaue, while God lends me poour to vtter my minde! And (hauing az good cauz of his honor, az Virgil had of Augustus Cezar,) wil I poet it a littl with Virgill, and say,

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[1] Nichols, ed. 1788, i. 50, reads 'that saw,' and says 'Another copy reads *the law* of Martial.'

[2] Lib. V., Epig. xliii.—*Nichols.*

Eglog. I. *Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus, illius aram*
Sepe tener nostris ab ouilibus imbuet agnus.

For he shallbe a god to me, till death my life consumez:
His auters will I sacrifice with incens and parfumez.

A singular patron of humanitée may he be well vnto vs, towarde all degréez; of Honor, toward hy Estates; and chéeflye, whearby we may learne in what dignitée, worship, and reuerens, her highnes iz to be estéemed, honored, and receiued, that waz neuer indéed more condignly doon then héer, so as neither by the bylders at first, nor by †the
1266. An. 50 Hen. 3. Edict of pacification after[1], was euer Kenelworth
[†p. 82.] more nobled then by thiz, hiz Lordship's receiuing hir highnes héer now.

But, Iesu! Iesu! whither am I drawen noow? But tallk I of my Lord onz, éen thus it farez with me: I forget all, my fréends, & my self too. And yet yoo, being a Mercer, a Merchant, az I am: my cuntréeman born, & my good fréend withal, whearby I kno ye ar compassiond with me: Me thought it my part, sumwhat to empart vnto yoo hoow it iz héer with me, & hoow I lead my life, which indéed iz this:

A mornings I rize ordinarily at seauen a clok: Then reddy, I go intoo the Chappell: soon after eyght, I get me commonly intoo my Lord's Chamber, or intoo my Lord's prezidents. Thear, at the cupboord, after I haue eaten *the* manchet, serued ouer night for liuery[2], (for I dare be az bolld, I promis yoo, az any of my freends the seruaunts thear: and indeed, coold I haue fresh if I woold tary; but I am of woont iolly & dry[3] a mornings) I drink me vp a good bol of Ale: when in a swéet pot it iz defecated by al nights standing, the drink iz *the* better; take that of me[4]: & a morsell in a morning, with a sound draught, iz very holsome and good for the
[§p. 83.] eysight. Then I am az fresh all §*the* forenoon after, az had I eaten a hole pées of béef. Noow, syr,

[1] See *Notes* at the end.

[2] A loaf of fine bread served-out over-night as Laneham's *livery* or allowance. Henry VIII.'s Knights, and others of the King's Councell, Gentlemen of the Chamber, etc., had each in 1526, 'Everie of them, being lodged within the courte, for their Bouch in the morning, one chet [coarse] loafe, one *manchet*, one gallon of ale.'—*Household Ordinances*, p. 163.

[3] Is this the first use of this now slang phrase?

[4] John Russell and Andrew Boorde say that Ale must be 5 days old before it is drunk.—*Babees Book*, p. 128, 208. Before it was hopt, it had to be brewed fresh and fresh, and must have been all the better for standing.

if the Councell sit, I am at hand, wait at an inch, I warrant yoo. If any make babling, "peas!" (say I) "woot ye whear ye ar?" if I take a lystenar, or a priar in at the chinks or at *the* lokhole, I am by & by in the bones of him[1]; but now they kéep good order; they kno me well inough: If a be a fréend, or such one az I lyke, I make him sit dooun by me on a foorm, or a cheast: let the rest walk, a God's name!

And héer doth my langagez now and than stond me in good sted, my Fre*n*ch, my Spanish, my Dutch, & my Latten, sumtime amoong Ambassadours me*n*, if their Master be within with the Cou*n*cel, sumtime with the Ambassadour himself, if hee bid call hiz lacky, or ask me whats a clok: and I warrant ye I aunswer him roundly, that they maruell to sée such a fello thear: the*n* laugh I, & say nothing. Dinner & supper I haue twenty placez to go to, & hartly prayd to: And sumtime get I too Master Pinner, by my faith a worshipfull Gentlman, and az carefull for his charge az ony hir highnez hath: thear find I alway good store of very good viaunds: we eat and bee merry, thank God & the Quéene! Himself in
[*p. 84.] féeding very temperat & moderat az ye shall sée ony: *and yet, by your leaue, of a dish—az a colld pigeo*n* or so, that hath cum to him at meat, more then he lookt for,—I haue seen him éen so by and by surfit, az he hath pluct of hiz napkin, wyept his knife, & eat not a morsell more: lyke ynoough to stik in hiz stomake a too dayz after: (Sum hard message from the higher officers, perceiue ye me?) Vpon search, hiz faithfull dealing and diligens hath found him fautles. In afternoons & a nights, sumtime am I with the right worshipfull Sir George Howard, az good a Gentlman as ony liuez: And sumtime at my good Lady Sidneis[2] chamber, a Noblewooman that I am az mooch boound vntoo, as ony poore man may bee vnto so gracyous a Lady: And sumtime in sum oother place; But alwayez among the Gentlwemen[3] by my good will (O, yée kno that cum alweyez of a gentle spirite); & when I sée cumpany according, than can I be az lyuely to; sumtyme I foote it with daunsing: noow with my Gittern, and els with my Cittern,

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[1] give him a good dig in the ribs.

[2] Mary, the sister of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, wife of Sir Henry Sydney, K.G. Their son, Robert Sydney, was created Baron Sydney of Penshurst, in Kent, 13th May, 1603; created Viscount L'Isle, May 4, 1605; and on 2 August, 1618, Earl of Leicester.—*Nicolas's Peerage*, ii. 630.

[3] See note [2] on next page.

then at the Virgynalz[1]:—Ye kno nothing cums amisse to mée: —then carroll I vp a song withall[2], that by and by they com flocking about me lyke béez too hunny: and euer they cry, [†p. 85.] "anoother, good Langham, anoother!" Shall I tell you? †when I sée Misterz——(A! sée a madde knaue! I had almost tollde all!) that shee gyuez onz but an ey or an ear: why, then man, am I blest! my grace, my corage, my cunning iz doobled: She sayz sumtime she likez it, & then I like it mooch the better; it dooth me good to heer hoow well I can doo. And, too say truth: what, with myne eyz, az I can amoroously gloit it, with my Spanish sospires,[3] my French

[1] The musical instruments principally in use in barbers' shops, during the 16th. and 17th. centuries were the *cittern*, the *gittern*, the lute, and the *virginals*. Of these the *cittern* . . was in shape somewhat like the English guitar of the last century, but had only four double strings of *wire*, *i. e.* two to each note . . . The peculiarity of the cittern, or cithren, was that the third string was tuned lower than the fourth, so that if the first or highest string was tuned to *e*, the third would be the *g* below, and the fourth the *intermediate b* . . The *gittern* . . Ritson rightly says, differed chiefly from the cittern in being strung with *gut* instead of wire. It was in fact a guitar. In the catalogue of musical instruments left in the charge of Philip von Wilder at the death of Henry VIII, we find "four *Gitterons*, which are called Spanish vialles." These were guitars with *six* strings, for, at this time, the Spanish guitar had but four strings, and the Spaniards gave the name of Vihuela to those with six. In the old play of '*Lingua*' we read

> 'Tis true the finding of a dead horse-head
> Was the first invention of *string* instruments,
> Whence rose the *Gitterne*, Viol and the Lute.
> *Dodsley's Old Plays*, vol. v., p. 198 . . . .

The *virginals* (probably so called because chiefly played upon by young girls) resembled in shape the 'square' pianoforte of the present day, as the harpsichord did the 'grand.' The sound of the pianoforte is produced by a hammer *striking* the strings; but when the keys of the virginal or harpsichord were pressed, the *jacks* (slender pieces of wood, armed at the upper end with quills) were raised to the strings, they acted as *plectra*, by impinging, or twitching them.—*Chappell's Popular Music*, vol. i. p. 101–4. See also p. 35, 98, 248, 764, etc.

[2] Compare Hugh Rhodes's *Boke of Nurture* in the *Babees Book*, p. 85,

> A plyaunt seruaunt gets fauour to his great aduauntage;
> Promoted shall he be in offyce or fee, easilier to lyue in age.
> *Vse honest pastyme, talke or synge, or some Instrument vse:*
> Though they be thy betters, to heare they will thee not refuse.
> (l. 129–36.)

And as to the 'Gentlwemen' above, compare Rhodes's further directions, p. 86,

> For your preferment resorte to such as may you vauntage:
> Among Gentlemen for their rewards; to honest dames for maryage . . .
> Honest quallityes and gentle, many men doth advaunce
> To good maryages, trust me, and their names doth inhaunce. (l. 141–52.)

[3] Laneham gives in this passage a specimen of making love in the various languages in which he was skilled. *Suspiro*, in the Spanish tongue, signifies

heighes, mine Italian dulcets, my Dutch houez,
vp fyn houe. my doobl releas, my hy reachez, my fine feyning,
my déep diapason, my wanton warblz, my running, my tyming, my tuning, and my twynkling, I can gracify the matters az well az the prowdest of them; and waz yet neuer staynd, I thank God. By my troth, cuntreman, it iz sumtim by midnight ear I *can* get from them. And thus haue I told ye most of my trade, al the léeue long daye: what will ye more? God saue the Quéene and my Lord! I am well, I thank yoo.

Héerwith ment I fully to bid ye farewell, had not this doubt cum to my minde, that heer remainz a doout in yoo, which I ought (me thought) in any wyze to cléer: Which iz, ye maruel perchauns to sée me so bookish. Let me tell yoo in few woords: I went to scool forsooth both at Pollez,
[*p. 86.] & *allso at Saint Antoniez: in the fifth foorm, past Esop fabls iwys, red Terens: "Vos istæc intro auferte;" & began with my Virgill "Tytire tu patulæ." I coold[1] my rulez, coold conster & pars with the best of them. Syns that, az partly ye kno, haue I traded the feat of marchaundize in sundry Cuntreyz, & so gat me Langagez, which do so littl hinder my Latten, az (I thank God) haue mooch encreast it. I haue leizure sumtime, when I tend not vpon the coounsell: whearby, now look I on one booke, noow on an other. Stories I delight in, the more auncient & rare, the more likesum vntoo mee. If I tolld ye, I lyked William a Malmesbery so well, bicauz of hiz diligenz & antiquitée. Perchauns ye woold conster it bicauz I loue Mamzey so well: but, I feith! it iz not so: for sipt I no more Sak & suger (& yet neuer but with *com*pany) *then* I doo Malmzey, I should not blush so moch a dayz as I doo: ye kno my minde. Well, noow! thus fare ye hartily well! y feith! if with wish*ing* it coold haue béen, ye had had a buk or too this soomer; but we shal cum neerer shortly, & then shal we merely méet; &, grace a God! in the mean time comme*n*d me, I besek yo, vntoo my good freends, almost most of the*m* your
[§p. 87.] neighbors, Master §Allderman Pullison[2], a speciall fréende of mine: and, in ony wise, too my good old freend Master Smith, Custumer[3], by that same token, "Set

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a very deep sigh; *Hé*, in the French, expresses the emotions of the soul in love; *Dolce*, in Italian, means dear or beloved; and in Dutch, *Hoofsheid* is the word for courtship.—*Burn*, p. 114; *Nichols*, i. 483.

[1] knew; as in 'coold hiz lesson,' p. 38.

[2] Afterwards Sir Thomas Pullison, and Lord Mayor in 1584.—*Nichols* and *Burn*.

[3] See p. 45, note.

my hors vp too the rak, & then lets haue a cup of Sak!"—He knoez the token well ynough, & wil laugh, I hold ye a grote. —Too Master Thorogood: And too my mery cumpanion (a Mercer, ye wot, az we be,) Master Denman, "Mio fratello in Christo:" he iz woont too summon me by the name of "Ro. La. of the Coounty Nosingham[1], Gentlman." A good companion, I feyth! Well, onez again, fare ye hartely well! From the Coourt. At the Citée of Worceter, the xx of August, 1575.

Yor countréeman, companion, & freend assuredly: Mercer, Merchantauenturer, and Clark of the Councel-chamber door, and also kéeper of the same: El Prencipe negro. Par me, R. L. Gent. Mercer.

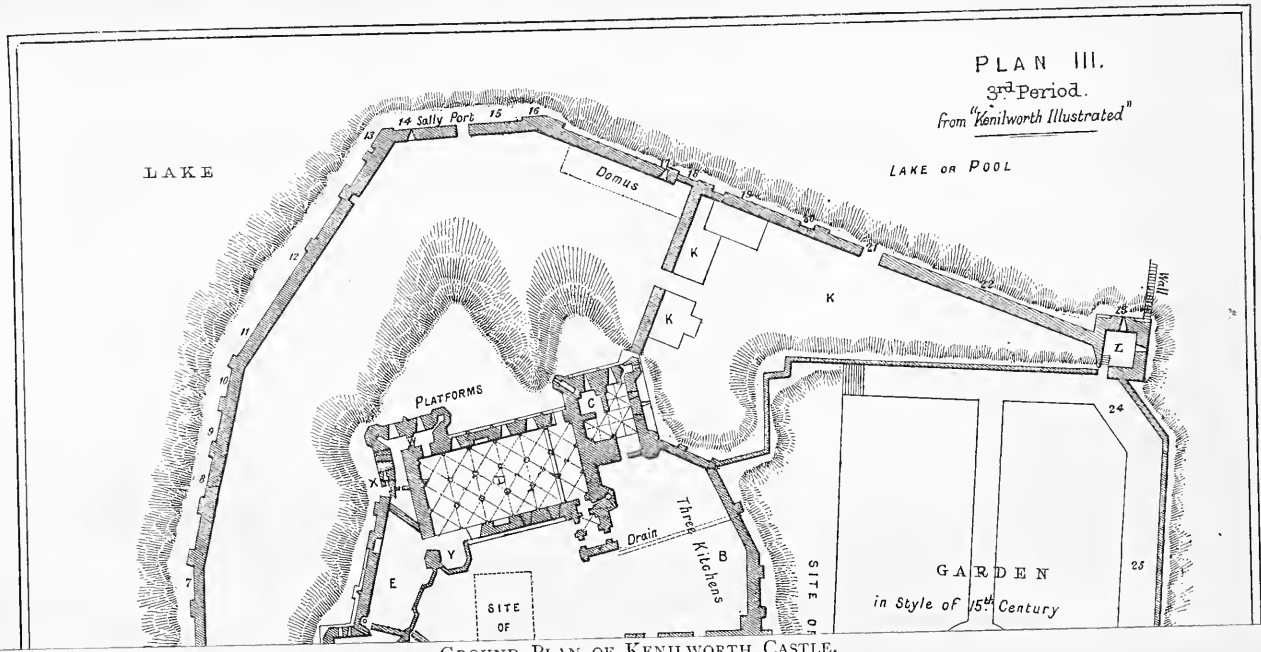
DE MAIESTATE REGIA

Benigno.

Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea lingua,
Iactanter Cicero, ad iustius illud habe:
Cedant arma togæ, vigil et toga cedat honori,
Omnia concedant Imperioque suo.

DEO OPT. MAX. GRATIÆ.

[1] I don't take this to be a mistake for Nottingham, but a quiz on Laneham's nose, which, as his cheeks blusht so much (p. 61), must have been red too.



GROUND PLAN OF KENILWORTH CASTLE.

Palatial 1390—1650—1870.

APPENDIX.

The following is the report of King Henry VIII.'s surveyors on Kenilworth.

[Cott. MS. Vesp. F. ix. leaf 302.]

The Castle of Killingworth, situate vpon a Rock.

[Ci]rcuit. 1. The Circuite whereof within the walls conteyneth 7. acres, vpon which the walks are so spacious & faire that two or three persons may walke together vpon most places thereof.

[Bu]ilding. 2. The Castle with the 4 Gatehouses all built of freestone hewen and cutt; the walls in many places of 15. & 10. foot thicke, some more, some lesse, the least fower foot in thicknes square.

Couering. 3. The Castle & 4. Gatehouses all covered with Lead, whereby it is subiect to no other decay then the glasse, through the extremity of weather.

[R]oomes. 4. The Roomes of great State within the same, & such as are able to receaue his Majesty, the Queen, & Prince, at one tyme, built with as much vniformity and conveniency as any houses of later tyme; and with such stately Sellars, all caried vpon pillars, and Architecture of free stone carued and wrought, as the like are not within this Kingdome; and also all other houses for Offices aunswerable.

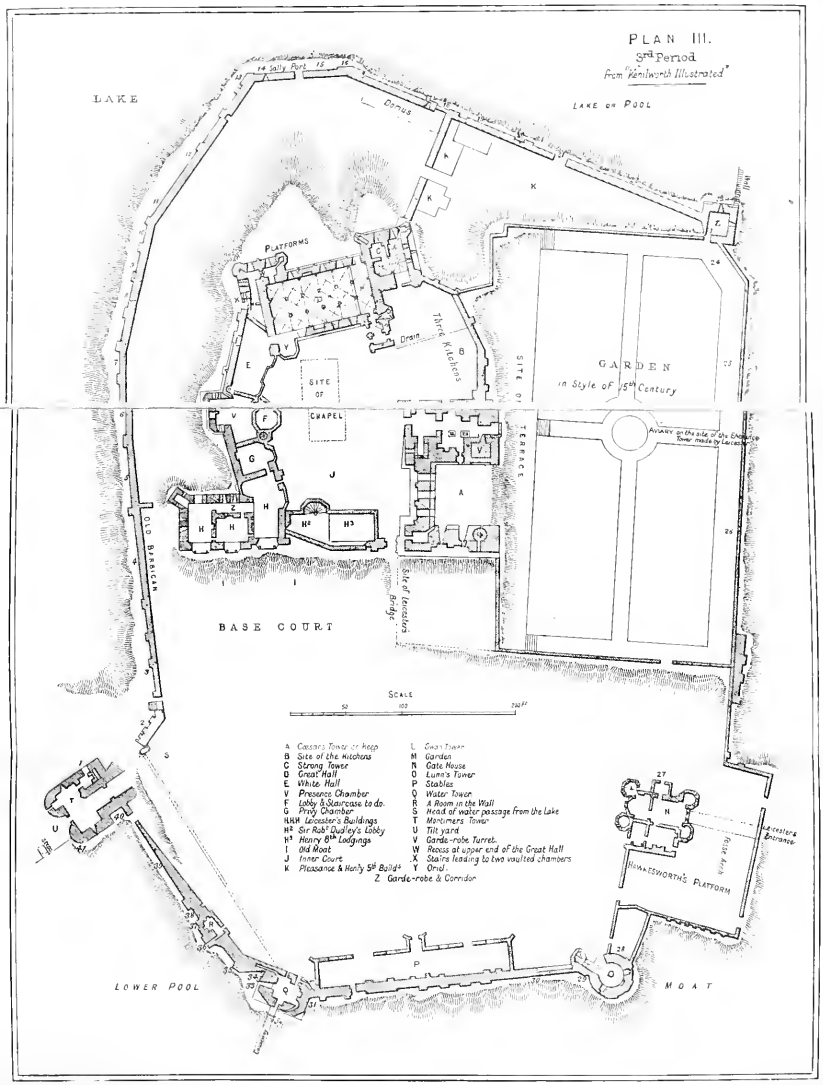
[Ch]ases & Parks. 5. There lieth about the same in Chases and Parks 1200li *per annum;* 900li. whereof are grounds for pleasure,—the rest in meadow & pasture thereto adioyning, Tennants and freeholders.

[King]swood-copses. 6. There ioyneth vpon this ground a Parklike ground, called the Kings wood, with 15. seuerall Coppisses lyeng altogether, conteyning 789. acres within the same; which, in the Earle of Leicesters tyme, were stored with Red deere. Since which, the Deere stroyed;[1] but the ground in no sort blemished, having great store of Tymber & other Trees of much valewe vpon the same.

[P]oole. 7. There runneth through the said grounds by the walls of the said Castle a faire Poole, conteyning 111 acres, well stored with fish and fowle, which at pleasure is to be lett round about the Castle.

[Timbe]r & woods. 8. In Tymber and woods vpon theis grounds to the valew (as hath been offred) of 20,000li; hauing a convenient tyme to remove them; which to his Majestie, in the Suruey, are but valewed at 11722li,—which pro-

[1] have been destroyed.



GROUND PLAN OF KENILWORTH CASTLE.

Palatial 1300—1650—1870.

portion, in a like measure, is held in all the rest vpon the other valewes to his Ma*jes*ty.

[Co]mpasse. 9. The Circuits of the Castle, Manors, Parks, and Chase, lieing round, together conteyne at least 19. or 20. miles, in a pleasaunt Countrey,—the like both for strength, state, and pleasure not being w*i*thin the Realme of England.

[Su]ruey. 10. Theis lands haue been s*ur*ueied by Commissio*ners* from the King and the L*ord* Priuy seale, w*i*th direcc*i*ons from his L*ordshi*p to finde all things vnder the true worth, and vpon oath of Juro*urs*, aswell freeholders, as Custumary Ten*au*nts; w*hi*ch course being held by them are notw*i*thstanding surveied and returned at 38,554li 15s Out of w*hi*ch, for Sir Rob*ert* Dudley's Contempt, there is to be deducted 10000li.; for the La*dy* Dudley's Joynture, w*hi*ch is w*i*thout ympeachment of wast, whereby she may sell all the woods, (w*hi*ch by the Suruey amount vnto 11722li.) what shalbe thought reasonable.

		li.	s.
The Totall of the Suruey ariseth as followeth, viz.:—	In land . . .	16431.	9
	In woods . . .	11722.	2
	The Castle . .	10401.	4

Estate. 11. His Ma*jes*tie hath herein the meane profitts of the Castle and premisses through Sir Rob*ert* Dudley's Contempt, during his life or his Ma*jesti*e's Pardon. The Reuer*ci*on in fee being in the L*ord* priuy seale.

NOTES ON LANEHAM'S LETTER.

P. 2. *Ayr sweet and hollsum.*—See the interesting chap. 3 of Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary*, p. 235 of my edition of Boorde, 1870. Also chapter 2, on the site of a house.

P. 3. *The Bridge.*—This dry valley was partly filled up by Col. Haukesworth, ab. 1650, when he dismantled the Castle, but part still remains. It is in fact the original Norman moat (1135) which was dried, and partly filled up, when at the close of the 12th century Geoffrey Clinton's successors threw out a more extensive line of fortifications.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 3.—In the year of 642, Penda, King of Mercia, invaded the dominions of Oswald, King of Northumberland; who was slain after a fierce battle at Maserfield. Burthred, or Buthred, who is mentioned in the context, was the last King of Mercia; whose kingdom was invaded in 874, by the West-Saxons, under Alfred. Thus overpowered he fled to Rome, where he died.—Burn's ed. of *Laneham*, p. 94; *Nichols*, i. 428.

P. 6.—The Porter burst out, in verses 'devised and pronounced by Master Badger of Oxford, Master of Arts, and Bedel in the same University,' and given in *Gascoigne*, p. 7, ed. 1821.

P. 6.—See Malory's *Kyng Arthur*, bk. i. cap. xxv. Soo they rode tyl they came to a lake, the whiche was a fayr water, and brood. And in the myddes of the lake, Arthur was ware of an arme clothed in whyte samyte, that held a fayr swerd in that hand. "Loo," said Merlyn, "yonder is that swerd that I spak of." With that they sawe a damoisel goyng vpon the lake. "What damoysel is that?" said Arthur. "That is THE LADY OF THE LAKE," said Merlyn; "And within that lake is a roche; and theryn is as fayr a place as ony on erthe, and rychely beseene; and this damoysell wylle come to yow anone; and thenne speke ye fayre to her, that she will gyue yow that swerd."

P. 7, 9. *Musical Instruments.*—Lord Warren and De Tabley has been kind enough to lend me a MS Commonplace book of his ancestor Sir Philip Leycester, dated 1656, that the musical part may be edited by Dr. Rimbault for the Early English Text Society. But as several of the instruments mentioned by Laneham are described in it, I extract the bits relating to them.

[*leaf 86 back.] "*It will not be amisse here to insert the severall Kinds of Musicall Instruments now of most Vse in England, as they be now vsed, 1656. . . .

[†leaf 87.] "†Of Single Wynd Instruments, the most excellent are the Cornet, the Shalme, & Sackbut.

"The CORNET is about two foote in length; not so streight as the Shalme; but with a little bendinge or Incurvation; it is bored through, & hath little holes at the side thereof, which, beinge stopt with the fingers, gives the variety of Soundes; & yeildeth a shrill-quakinge-Sound, which is produced by the Art of the Mouth, as the Hunt's-man's Horne & Trumpet are caused by the blast of the mouth.

[*leaf 87 back.] "*The SHALME is made of Wood, & after the same manner of the Cornet, & about the same length, bored thorough also, with little holes at the side, to be stopt with the fingers, for distinction of Soundes. This is a streight Piece of Wood, & hath a Reede put into the Smaller end thereof (which is made artificially, & bound about the Lower end with a Thred), which with the blast of the mouth causeth a shrill Sound, & is done with lesse straininge then the Cornet, which hath no Reede, but the Sound thereof forced with the Mouth. [1]The greater end of it is made in forme of a little Bell, like the end of a Trumpet[1].

"The SACKBUT is made of Brasse or Alchimy[2], & gives distinc-

[†leaf 88.] tion of Soundes, not by holes, as other Pipes, †but by movinge the outward part of it higher or Lower; for there is a Devise vppon it, to be drawne vp & downe. The Sound of it is caused by the blast of the mouth; & it hath some resemblance to a Trumpet. This Instrument giveth a Deepe Sound, & is to play the Basse-parte.

"There are also of an inferiour Kind, as FLUITS, RECORDERS, BAG-PIPES,—& these last both greater & lesse,—so called because they have bags fastened to the Pipe, which, beinge stuft with the wind of the Mouth, causeth the Sounde. But these Pipes are never vsed by any Artists in Musicke; but by the more Rusticall Sorte of People.

[‡leaf 88 back.] "‡The Stringed Instruments now in vse are two fold, either Gut-stringes or Wyre-stringes.

"Instruments with Gut-stringes are of Three sortes.

"1 The HARPE, which is made in forme of a Triangle, & hath the stringes open on both sides, for either hande to play with all: & is played vppon with the fingers of both handes.

"2 The LUTE, which is made with a Round backe, like a halfe-Globe, the belly of it flat & even to the finger-board. This is playd vppon with the fingers of the right hand, & stoppinge the

[§leaf 89.] notes with the left hand on the finger-board. §It hath sometymes 24 strings, sometimes 19 stringes; and sometymes lesse, as pleaseth the Musitian to have it.

"Of this Kind is the THEORBO, beinge only a Basse-Lute: made larger to carry a Deepe Sounde.

[1–1] Written in the margin. [2] ? tin.

"3 The VIOLE: which is either Treble, Tenour, or Base, accordinge to its magnitude: These have onely Sixe stringes a peece, and are played vppon with a Bowe.

"of this Sorte also is the VIOLIN, which hath but fowre stringes, & is the least sort: which carryes an excellent Treble parte; save onely this hath no frets on the fingerboard (because of its littlenes) as the other Violes have; but the notes on this are strooke by the Eare.

[*leaf 89 back.] "*Instruments with Wyre-stringes are of fowre sorts.

1 VIRGINALLS. These are made with Keyes, as the Organs: and indeed is nothinge else but a stringed Organ.

from these the HARPSICALLS & double Harpsicalls are deduced; all made after the same manner.

2 ORPHARION: which is onely a Wyre-stringed Lute; save the forme of the backe of this is made more flat, the Lute more round: & from this the BANDORA[1] (as we call it) somewhat larger;

[†leaf 90.] the ffrets on the finger-board of these beinge made of †brasse, which is layd into the Wood; but the ffrets of the Lute & Violes are made of Stringes tyed about the fingerboard.

"3 HARPE: which we vsually call THE IRISH HARPE, as most vsed by them, with Wyre-strings: the other called by vs THE WELSH-HARPE, with Gut-stringes.

"4 The PSITTYRNE; & from thence the GITTERNE: of which I haue made mention before, fo. 85. [The passage at leaf 85 about the Psittyrne[2] is, "This Instrument is not so apt for the voyce as the Lute or Viole, but yeilds a Sweete and Gentle Sound, which the name importeth: for ψιθύρα is a Greeke word, & commeth of ψίθυρος, which signifyes 'a whisperinge Sound'; like to which is the sound of this Instrument: some write it 'Citharen,'—but falsely,—for 'Psithyren,' &, by contraction, 'Psittyrne.' It contayneth fowre Course of stringes, as at this day we vse it, each Course beinge doubled, havinge two Stringes of one sound in each course: They are Wire Stringes: & is played vppon with a little peice of a Quill or Pen, wherewith the Stringes be touched. It is now vsually taught by Letters, not by Notes of Musicke.

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[1] Bandora, a musicall Instrument with Wyre-strings, so called; first made by John Rose, dwellinge in Bridewell, anno 4° Eliz: 1562, who left a sonne farre excellinge himselfe in makinge Instruments. *Howes continuation of Stow: pag:* 869.—Sir P. Leycester's Index to his MS.

[2] This is preceded by an account of the two best "PSITHYRISTS. For the little Instrument called a PSITTYRNE, Anthony Holborne and Tho: Robinson were most famous of any before them, and haue both of them set out a Booke of Lessons for this Instrument. Holborne hath composed a Basse-parte for the Viole to play vnto the Psittyrne with those Lessons Set out in his booke: these lived about Anno Domini 1600."

Like vnto this is the Instrument we now vsually do[1] call a GITTERNE, *which* indeed is onely a Treble Psittyrne, beinge somewhat lesse then the other, yeildinge a more Treble Smart Sound, havinge the same number & the same Order of Wynd-strings, & playd vppon with a Quill, after the same order as the Psittyrne; onely some variation in the Tuninge, *which* may also be varyed in the Psittyrne at pleasure.]

"To these may be added the APOPREY, brought into England about 1644, which is playd on with two little sticks; in either hand one; & hath Wyre-stringes, onely 4 Course.

"These I thought good to mention here, that Posterity may know the difference of them, and likewise what new Inventions shall be found out afterwards."

P. 12. *Sunday Dauncing.*—

He know to dance on Sundays.

Little Thief, A. iij.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 13. *The Chase.*—There is a spot in the Chase still called the Queen's Standing-Ground. *Cf.* Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*, ch. iii.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 13. *Earning of the hoounds.*—*Earn* or *Yorne* is a term of art: compare *Vallentine* (the Courtier) . . I confesse I am vnskilfull, yet vnlesse I bee much deceaued, I haue hard hounds *barke* by night, & haue seene foulers ketch Woodcockes in colde weather.

Vincent (the Cuntrey-Gentleman) In deede it may bee you haue hard sumtimes hounds *yorne* (for so you ought to terme it) by night; and I suppose the winter weather, and hard, is fittest for ketching of Woodcockes in deede. 1586. *The English Courtier and the Cuntrey-gentleman*, p. 55–6, ed. 1868, Roxburghe Library.

P. 16. *Bearbaiting.*—So too Arthur Golding in his 'Discourse upon the Earthquake' on April 6, 1580 "The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the hearing of Gods word, to the reformation of our lyves . . . . and finally for the speciall occupying of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing, and beholding of *Beare-baytings* and Stage-playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessarie consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed." (Quoted in Collier's *Stationers' Registers*, ii. 118.)

P. 17. *Nyez.*—A vulgarism.

Your pale seekes & hollow *nyes*.

The Little Thief, Act IV.—E. H. Knowles.

? pinken eyes. There is a singular coincidence between Laneham's description of a bear-fight, and that given in the Romance of "Kenilworth," where the Earl of Sussex presents a petition

[1] 'tearme a Kit some' is struck out, and 'Gittern' written at the side.

from Orson Pinnit, keeper of the Royal Bears, against Shakespeare and the players. It is evident that the author of "Kenilworth" had the passage in his mind; and as the reader may also like to compare the two passages, an extract from the Romance is here inserted: "There you may see the bear lying at guard with his red pinky eyes, watching the onset of the mastiff like a wily captain, who maintains his defence, that an assailant may be tempted to venture within his danger." See *Kenilworth*, vol. ii. p. 129.—*Burn*, p. 98; *Nichols*, i. 439. *Ken. Ill.* says 'pink nyez'—winking-eyes. Dutch *pincken*, to wink. P. 15, note 1.

P. 26. *Coventry* . . is a faire, famous, sweet, and ancient City, so walled about with such strength and neatnesse, as no City in England may compare with it: in the wals (at severall places) are 13 Gates and Posterns whereby to enter and issue too and from the City; and on the wals are 18 strong defensible Towers, which do also beautifie it: in the City is a faire and delicate Crosse, which is for structure, beauty, and workmanship, by many men accounted unmatchable in this Kingdome; although my selfe, with some others, do suppose that of Abington in Berkeshire will match it; and I am sure the Crosse in Cheapside at London doth farre out-passe it. (1639. John Taylor. *Part of this Summers Travels*, p. 9.)

P. 26, margin. *Florilegus.*—? = Matthew of Westminster.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 31. *Musters.*—In the Musters taken in 1574 and 1575 A.D. printed in *Household Ordinances*, p. 270–1, Warwick figures for 300 able men, 978 armed men, 300 artificers and pyoneers, 16 demi-lances, and 90 light-horse.

P. 31. *Nippitate.*—

> *Pompiona, Princess of Moldavia.*
> Oft have I heard of your brave countrymen,
> And fertile soil, and store of wholesome food.
> My father oft will tell me of a drink
> In England found, and *Nipitato* call'd,
> Which driveth all the sorrow from your hearts.
> *Ralph.* Lady, 'tis true: you need not lay your lips
> To better *Nipitato* than there is.
>
> Beaumont and Fletcher, *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, Act iv, Scene 2, *Works*, ed. Darley, 1840, vol. ii, p. 90, col. 2.

P. 32. *An Ambrosiall Banket . . disshez . . a three hundred.*—A dinner in London in 1569 is thus described:

> This day, my Lorde his speciall friende
> must dyne with him (no naye),

His Partners, Friendes and Aldermen:
wherefore he must puruaye
Both Capon, Swan, and Hernshoe good,
fat Bitture, Larcke, and Quayle:
Right Plouer, Snype, and Woodcock fine,
with Curlew, Wype[1], and Rayle:
Stonetiuets[2], Teale, and Pecteales good,
with Busterd fat and plum,
Fat Pheasaunt Powt, and Plouer base
for them that after come.
Stout, Stockard, Stampine, Tanterueale,
and Wigeon of the best:
Puyt[3], Partrich, Blackbirde and
fat Shoueler with the rest.
Two Warrants eke he must prouide
to haue some Venson fat,
And meanes héele make for red Déere too,
(there is no nay of that.)
And néedefully he must prouide
(although we speake not ont)
Both Peacock, Crane, and Turkicock,
and (as such men are wont,)
He must foresee that he ne lacke [Sign. D. iii.]
colde bakemetes in the ende:
With Custards, Tarts, and Florentines,
the bancquet to amende.
And (to be short, and knit it vp)
he must not wanting sée
Straunge kindes of fysh at second course
to come in their degrée,
As Porpesse, Seale and Salmond good,
with Sturgeon of the best,
And Turbot, Lobster, with the lyke
to furnish out the feast.
All this theyle haue, and else much more,
sydes Marchpane and gréene Chéese,
Stewde wardens, Prunes, & sweete conserues,
with spiced Wine like Lées,
Gréeneginger, Sucket, Suger Plate,
and Marmaladie fine,
Blauncht Almonds, Peares and Ginger bread;
But Peares should we assigne
And place before (as meete it is)
at great mens boordes; for why,

---

[1] Lapwing. [2] ? Stonechat. [3] Peewit.

Rawe fruites are first in seruice styll[1],
Else Seruing men doo lye.

1575. E. Hake. Newes out of Powles Churchyarde.
Sign. D. ii. back, and D iii.

P. 33.—This device of the Lady of the Lake was also by Master Hunnis (p. 5, note 4, above). He had also designed a preliminary night skirmish on the water between the Lady of the Lake's men and Sir Bruce's, all floating upon heaps of bulrushes; but this was not carried out. The speeches of Triton to the Queen, and the winds, etc., the Lady of the Lake's speech, and the Song of Proteus, all in verses, which "as I think, were penned, some by Master Hunnis, some by Master Ferrers, and some by Master Goldingham," are given in *Gascoigne's Princ. Pleas.* p. 23–8, ed. 1821.

P. 34. *Syr Bruse sauns pitée.*—See Sir E. Strachey's modernised edition of Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, bk. ix. ch. 41, p. 235. "Sir knight, said the lady [to Sir Dinadan] I am the wofullest lady of the world; for within these five days here came a knight called Sir Breuse Sance Pité, and he slew mine own brother, and ever since he hath kept me at his own will; and of all the men in the world I hate him most." See also p. 301. Sir Breuse and Sir Dinadan are from the French Romance of the *Prophecies de Merlin*,—Mr. Hy. Ward of the Brit. Mus. tells me,—as are also Alisander le Orphelin and Alice la Beale Pilgrime, p. 268, 273, 455 of Strachey's Malory.

Arion.—"There was a spectacle presented to Q. Elizabeth vpon the water, and amongst others, Harry Goldingham was to represent Arion vpon the Dolphin's backe; but finding his voice to be very hoarse and vnpleasant when he came to performe it, he teares of his disguise, and sweares he was none of Arion; not he! but eene honest Harry Goldingham,—which blunt discoverie pleas'd the Queene better then if it had gone thorough in the right way. Yet he could order his voice to an instrument exceeding well."—Para. 221, of Harl. MS. 6395—a book of "Merry Passages & Jeasts," collected by Sir Nicholas L'Estrange of Hunstanton, Bart., who died in 1669.

P. 35. *Kings Evil.*—For a form of prayer, see Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, vol. iii.—E. H. Knowles. See Andrew Boorde on the King's Evil, p. 91–93, 121, of my edition, 1870.

P. 36. *A Devise of Goddesses and Nymphes.*—A very particular account of this intended "Devise" [in two acts] will be found in Gascoigne (*Princely Pleasures*, p. 30–53), who was the author of it.—*Nichols*, i. 419; *Ken. Ill.* p. 26, note 2. It was 'prepared and ready, (every actor in his garment) two or three days together,

[1] frutes afore mete, to ete hem fastyngely.—ab. 1440 A.D. *Russell's Boke of Nurture*, Babees Book, p. 162, l. 667.

yet never came to execution. The cause whereof I cannot attribute to any other thing than to lack of opportunity and reasonable weather.'—*Ib.* p. 53.

P. 37. *Ruffs fayr starched*, etc.—[1]The pains bestowed by our ancestors upon their *Ruffs* is little known to the general reader, who will be surprised to find from the ensuing extracts, that it fully equalled the *Dandyism* of the present day. In the "Second part of the Anatomie of Abuses, by P. Stubbes, 1583," is the following dialogue:

"*Theod.* I haue heard it saide that they vse great ruffes in *Dnalgne* [England], do they continue them still as they were woont to doe, or not?

Amphil. There is no amendement in any thing that I can see, neither in one thing nor in other, but euery day woorser and woorser, for they not only continue their great ruffes still, but also vse them bigger than euer they did. And wheras before they were too bad, now they are past al shame & honestie, yea most abhominable and detestable, and such as the diuell himselfe would be ashamed to weare the like. And if it be true, as I heare say, they haue their starching houses made of purpose, to that vse and end only, the better to trimme and dresse their ruffes to please the diuels eies withall.

Theod. Haue they starching houses of purpose made to starch in? Now truly that passes of all that euer I heard. And do they nothing in those brothell houses (starching houses I shuld say) but onelie starch bands and ruffes?

Amphil. No, nothing else, for to that end only were they erected, & therfore now are consecrate to Belzebub and Cerberus archdiuels of great ruffes.

Theod. Haue they not also houses to set their ruffes in, to trim them, and to trick them, as well as to starch them in?

Amphil. Yea marry haue they, for either the same starching houses (I had almost said farting houses) do serue the turn, or or else they haue their other chambers and secret closets to the same vse, wherein they tricke vp these cartwheeles of the diuels charet of pride, leading the direct way to the dungeon of hell.

Amphil[2]. What tooles and instruments haue they to set their ruffes withall. For I am persuaded they cannot set them artificially inough without some kind of tooles?

Amphil. Very true: and doe you thinke that they want any thing that might set forth their diuelrie to the world? In faith sir no, then the diuell were to blame if he should serue his clients

[1] Quoted in Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 460, note 4; but our quotation from Stubbes is taken direct from the original.

[2] Mistake for *Theod.*

so, that maintaine his kingdome of pride with such diligence as they doe. And therefore I would you wist it, they haue their tooles and instruments for the purpose.

Theod. Whereof be they made I pray you, or howe?

Amphil[1]. They be made of yron and steele, and some of brasse, kept as bright as siluer, yea and some of siluer it selfe, and it is well, if in processe of time they grow not to be gold. The fashion whereafter they be made, I cannot resemble to any thing so well as to a squirt, or a squibbe, which little children vsed to squirt out water withall: and when they come to starching, and setting of their ruffes, than must this instrument be heated in the fire, the better to stiffen the ruffe. For you know heate will drie, and stiffen any thing. And if you woulde know the name of this goodly toole, forsooth the deuill hath giuen it to name a putter, or else a putting sticke, as I heare say. They haue also another instrument called a setting sticke, either of wood or bone, and sometimes of gold and siluer, make forked wise at both ends, and with this (*Si diis placet*) they set their ruffes. But bicause this cursed fruit is not yet grown to his full perfection of ripenesse, I will therefore at this time say no more of it, vntil I here more."

The same caustic writer also mentions that the ruffes have a support or under-propper, called a *supportasse*[2]. Stowe informs us, that "about the sixteenth yeare of the Queene (Elizabeth) began the use of steel *poking-sticks*, and until that time all lawn-dresses used setting-sticks made of wood or bone."

In Marston's *Malcontent*, 1604, is the following observation, "There is such a deale of pinning these ruffes, when the fine clean fall is worth them all." And again, "If you should chance to take a nap in an afternoon, your falling-band requires no poking-stick to recover his form."

Middleton's comedy of *Blurt Master Constable*, 1602, has this passage: "Your ruff must stand in print, and for that purpose get *poking-sticks* with fair long handles, lest they scorch your hands." To conclude this long note, take the following extract from *Law Tricks*, 1608:

> "Broke broad jests upon her narrow wheel,
> Poked her *rabatoes*, and surveyed her *steel!*"

Cotgrave explains *rabat*, "a Rebatoe for a womans ruffe; also a falling-band." Menage says from *rabattre*, to put back, because it was at first nothing but the collar of the shirt or shift turned back towards the shoulders.

See another curious passage on Ruffs in the *Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, leaf 22, back.

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[1] Printed *Amhpil.* [2] Wrongly printed *suppertasse* in Nichols.

P. 38.—Cp. Chaucer's Miller: "a Shefeld thwitel bare he in his hose."—*Nichols*, i. 462; *Ken. Ill.* p. 28.

P. 38. *Islington.*—

> At Islington ther's Pudding Pies
> Hot Custards.
>
> M. Parker's *New Medley*, ii. back.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 39. *Holly Rood day.*—This festival was instituted on account of the recovery of a large piece of the Cross, by the emperor Heraclius, after it had been taken away, on the plundering of Jerusalem by Cosroes, King of Persia, about 615.—*Brand*, i. 200, ed. Hazlitt.

P. 39. *Islington and cream.*—

> Imagine Islington to be the place,
> The jorney to eat *cream*.
>
> ab. 1616. R. C. *Times Whistle*, p. 83, l. 2602–3.

P. 41 ([5]).—These stanzas are a versification of bk. 1, ch. 26, of Malory's edition; ch. 24, p. 48, of Strachey's modernization (Macmillans), 1868.—'In Caxton's edition, "La Morte d'Arthur," the chapter whence this story is taken is entitled, "How the tydings came to Arthur that King Ryons had overcome xi kynges; and how he desyred Arthur's berde to purfyl his mantel." With respect to the poetical tale given in the text, Dr. Percy, by whom it was printed in his "Reliques" (iii. 25), supposes the thought to have been originally taken from Jeffery of Monmouth's History. It has also been printed in "Percy Enderbie's Cambria Triumphans," with some variations in the text, which is probably much more pure than that used by Laneham, since it is stated to have been procured from "a manuscript in the library of the Royal Honourable Thomas Lord Windesore."—*Burn*, p. 109: *Nichols*, i. 465.

Ritson says of James Aske, who wrote *Elizabetha triumphans*, 1588, 'The initials J. A., probablely those of this James Aske, are prefix'd and subscribe'd to "A defiance to K. A. [King Arthur] and his round table," at the end of *Musarum deliciæ*, 1656; being the identical ballad intended to have been sung by the mock minstrel describe'd in Langhams letter from Killingworth, 1579; beginning "As it befell on a Pentecost day."' *Bibliographia Poetica*, p. 407.

P. 41 ([6]). *Huque*, derived from the French *huque*, a cloak.—The tabards, or surcoats, of the ancient heralds, were often denominated houces, or housings; and this expression was applied, indiscriminately, to their coats of arms as well as to a dark-coloured robe without sleeves, edged with fur, which they formerly wore.—*Burn*, p. 109.

P. 43.—Before Elizabeth went, a Farewell,—devised and spoken by Gascoigne as Sylvanus, god of the woods,—was presented before her 'as she went on hunting.' (*Princ. Pleas.* p. 53–74,

ed. 1821.) It was an elaborate speech of how the Gods rejoiced over her coming, and wept over her going; how she's the loveliest of Diana's nymphs; how she had turned her lovers into trees—Constancy into an oak, Vainglory into an ash (first in bud, first to cast its leaf), etc. Then music playd from an arbour of holly. Deep-Desire spoke a poem to the Queen, and then sang a song (accompanied by music).

P. 44. *Middleton.*—Lichfield and Worcester were both successively honoured in this Progress.—Query, what *Middleton* is here meant.—*Nichols*, i. 468.

P. 47.—*Rok*, a distaff.—See *The Wright's Chaste Wife*, l. 503, 508, and its Index. A distaff held in the hand, from which the wool was spun by a ball fixed below on a spindle, upon which every thread was wound up as it was done. It was the ancient way of spinning, and is still in use in many northern counties. *Vide* Bailey.—*Burn*, p. 110; *Nichols*, i. 471.

P. 48.—The following description refers to that part of the Castle called "Leicester's Buildings."—*Ken. Ill.* p. 35. See the plan there, next to p. 55, and the engraving of the ruined buildings, next p. 60. 'On a tablet below the middle window of the East front is the date of 1571.'

P. 48. *a beautifull Garden.*—It was to give privacy to this garden that Leicester altered the whole north entrance, as the road from the Wridfen and from Coventry came right *across* it: so he altered the north towers, making an aviary of one, and built a new Gateway Tower down a hundred yards to the East.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 48. *a pleazaunt Terres.* P. 53. *sweet shadoed wallk of Terres.*—This remains, ruined, but still 'sweet-shadoed.' To form it, Leicester probably filled up the northern division of the original Norman moat.—E. H. Knowles.

P. 50. *heawen oout of hard Porphiry.*—Poor Laneham was sadly hoaxed in this. Fragments of these so-called porphyry orbs have been found; but they are of painted sandstone. The pillars also were not in one 'hole pees.'—E. H. Knowles.

P. 53. *strawberiez, cheryez.*—Strawberries were rarely cultivated at this time, but gathered wild, as in Switzerland. The end of July was late for these cherries. (See Parker's *Domestic Architecture.*)—E. H. Knowles.

P. 53.—*Windlass* or *Windless* (in a Ship), a Drawbeam or piece of Timber having six or eight Squares, and fixt on the Stern aloft; which is now only us'd in small Ships, and in Flemish Vessels that are lightly Manned. But it will purchase or draw up much more than any Capstan, in the weighing of an Anchor, and that without Danger to the Men that heave.—*Kersey's Phillips*, 1706. But ? the context above points to *Wanlass*, a Term in Hunting, as

Driving the Wanlass, i. e. the driving of Deer to a stand; which in some Latin Records is termed *Fugatio Wanlassi ad Stabulum*, and in Domesday-Book, *Stabilitio Venationis*.—Ib. See the end of the 'windlesse,' p. 55.

P. 55. *Vyse*, or bise.—"The Iawe peces and crestes were karued with Vinettes and trailes of sauage worke, and richely gilted with gold and *Bise* . . . the Arches were vawted with Armorie, all of *Bice* and golde . . . and in the hole arche was nothing but fine *Bice* & golde."—*Hall's Chronicle*, ed. 1809, p. 722–3, A.D. 1527. *Bis* browne, duskie, swart, blackish.—*Cotgrave*.—Bice is a pale blue colour prepared from the Armenian stone, formerly brought from Armenia, but now from the silver mines of Germany; in consequence of which smalt is sometimes finely levigated, and called *bice*. The dials alluded to in the text were enamelled, and with the sun's reflection on the gold figures, heightened by the azure ground, must have had a most splendid appearance.—*Burn*, p. 113; *Nichols*, i. 478.

P. 58. *The Edict of Pacification*.—This alludes to the famous *Dictum de Kenelworth*, An act allowing persons disinherited by the Parliament after the battle of Evesham to redeem their estates on paying a fine.—*Ken. Ill.* p. 20, 41, from *Dugdale*. See *Statutes of the Realm*, ed. 1820, vol. i. p. 12.—*Burn*.

P. 58. *Then reddy, I go intoo the Chappell*.—This must surely have been a room fitted up ex tempore: since Leicester had secularized the 'Capella Turris' or chapel in the S.W. turret of the Keep, to insert a staircase; and the larger or King's Chapel had certainly disappeared.—E. H. Knowles.

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hizzen, 15, his, his belongings.
ho, 45, halt, stop.
Hock Tuesday, the Play on, by the Coventry men, 26.
Holborne, Anthony, 67.
Holy-Rood day, 39, 74, Sept. 14.
Hombre Saluagio, the savage Man, 14.
hoouge, 55, huge.
hornspoons, 39.
hornware, 40, things made of horn.
hoves, Dutch, 61.
Howard, Sir George, 59.
Howleglas, xlviii.
hukes, 41, 74, cloaks.
Huna, 27.
Hunnis, Master, 71.
Huntis up, a tune and ballad, clxiii.
Hunttis of Cheuet, clv.
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huque, 74, cloak.
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Ichington, Long, 5, 56.
Iland, the happy, 19.
imminens, 55, wondrous, great.
Impacient Poverty, a play, cxxiv.
'In a glorius garden grene,' clix.
inch: 'wait at an inch,' close by, 59.
incurvation, 66.
inkorn, 22, 24, inkhorn.
Irish-harp, 67.
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island, the floating, 6–7.
Islington, arms of, 38.
Islington, 74.
Italian tumbler or acrobat, 18.

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Jennen (Genoa), Frederyke of, xxv.
jewels, sham, 51.
John Armstrong's Dance, clxv.
'jolly and dry,' 58, very thirsty.
Jove, 47.
iument, 25, stallion.
iump, 55, exactly.
Juno, 44.
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karuell, 13, a small undeckt ship.
Kay, Sir, Seneschal of King Arthur, 42.
kebbis, ewes whose lambs have died soon, clxvi.
keepar, 37, brooch.
kemb, 37, combed.
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ku, 41, cue.

laborers, 43.
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Laneham, Robert; his character, x, xi,—see the references there;—Leicester's kindness to, 57–8; is 'a Mercer, a Merchant,' 58; knows 'langagez,' 59.
lanuginoous, 56, covered with down or wool.
Latimer on 'Pastime with good Company,' (Henry VIII's ballad) cl.
launsknights, 31, lanzknechts.
laymen's complaints of Prelates, lxx.
leag, 34, liege.
leamz, 12, lights, flames.
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leather, 17, skin.
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lemmanz, 8, lemons.
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'Levis grene,' a tune, cl.
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likesome, 56.
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liuery, 58, allowance of food.
lobster, 70.
lokhole, 59, lockhole.
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London goods fashionable in the country, 28 *note*.
loober woorts, 23, lubbers.
Lord President's chamber, 58.
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lute described, 66.
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lythie, 19, lithe, bendable.
lyuery, 8, in which the 'livery,' or allowance, was served.

magnifyk, 55, magnificent.
Magpie and the Merchant's Wife, Tale of the, lx.
Mair, 28, Mayor.
Maleore, Sir T., his conception (after his French originals) of Arthur, xvi.
mallys, 17, malice.
Mamzey, 61, Malmsey wine.
Mandeville, the Marvels of, cxlv.
manchet, 58, cake or loaf of fine bread.
mannage, 57, perform caracoles, ride (for 'walk').
Mantribil, the tayl of the Brig of, cxliii.
Marchlond or Mercia, 3.
marchpane, 70.
marmalade, 70.
Mars's present to Q. Elizabeth, 9, 44.
Martial quoted, 57.
mashez, 51, meshes.
Mask not performed, 33.
Mawdmarion, 23, Maid Marian.
Mercury, 45.
Mermaid, the swimming, 33.
Midas and his ass's ears, cxlviii.
Middleton, 44, 75.
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Millen cappes, 29 *note*.
Millener, 29 *note*, dealer in Milan goods.
minion, 22, clownish fellow.
Minstrel, the Ancient, 36.
minstrel of Middlesex, 38.
Misterz ——, 60, Mistress ——, Laneham's love.
moolding, 50.
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morisdauns, 22, a morris dance.
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mullet, 8.
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music on the water, 16.
Muzik iz a noble Art! 35.

Naiades, the, 40.
napkin, 22, handkerchief, 24, 41.

nees, 43, niece.
Neptune, 45, 52.
Neptune's presents to Queen Elizabeth, 9, 45.
nippitate, 31, 69, a kind of strong ale.
nobled, 58, made noble.
nose-blowing, 24.
Nosingham, 62, ? Nottingham parodied.
Nostradamus, almanacks by, cxxxv.
Nu Gize (or the new Guise), sketch of the play, cxxii.
nuellries, 47, novelties.
Nutbrooun Maid, sketch of, lxxvi.
nuze, 44, news.
nyez, 17, 68, eyes.

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obelisks, 49.
obrayds, 17, upbraidings.
occupied, 1, carried on.
Og's bedstead, 56.
oken, 14, of oak.
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omberty, 30, shadowing, indication.
one and onehood, 53.
'one hart, one wey,' Bacon's motto, 54.
oneself, writing about, xi.
Opheus, kyng of Portingal, the tale of, cxlviii.
oringes, 8, oranges.
orpharion, 67.
ouchez, 44, 29.
overseen, 30, well-read.
oversod, 39, over-boiled.
overstrained, 51, strained, stretcht, over.
Ovid quoted, 57.
owches, 29, 44, ornaments.

Pacification, the Edict of, 58, 76.
pall, 5, cloak or mantle.
pannell, 16. 'It is an English word, and signifieth a little Part; for a *Pane* is a part, and a *Pannel* a little part (as a Pannel of wainscot, a Pannel of a saddle, and a *Pannel* of a Parchment, wherein the Jurors names are written and annexed to the writ:) and a Jury is said to be im-*pannelled* when the Sheriff hath entred their names into the *Pannel*, or little piece of Parchment, *in Pannello assisæ*. Cook on Lit. Lib. 2. c. 2. Sect. 234." *The Law-French Dictionary* &c, 1701.
pannell, 21, a substitute for a saddle; 40, 41, pack, kind of saddle. See last article.
Paradise, the Kenilworth Garden worthy to be called, 53.
Parcæ, 46, the Fates.
parcell, 23, partly.
parklike, 63.
pars, 61, parse.
parson, 9, 34, person.
parsonage, 14, appearance.
pavvan, a dance, clxii. The Pavan etc. are described in MS. Rawl. Poet. 108.
peacock, 70.
pears the first dish at dinner in 1569, p. 70.
pecteale, ? what bird, 70.
penclark, 56, writer.
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penners, 29, pen-cases.
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pheasant pout, 70.
Phœbus, 44.
Phœbus's presents to Q. Elizabeth, 9.
pighte, 56, pitcht, set up.
pikquarrels, 44, pickers of quarrels.
pild, 39, ? spoilt, adulterated.
Pinner, Master, one of Elizabeth's household, 59.
Pirramus and Tesbe, the tayl of, clxvii.
Pius II, Pope, xxxviii, xli.
plat, 55, plan, design.
play acted before the Queen, 32.
pleaze, 10, pleasure.
plover, right, and base, 70.
Plutus's gifts to the Queen, 45.
poezi, 5, bit of poetry.
point, 21, end of a lace.
pointed stones, 51.
poking-stick, 73.
Pollez, 61, St. Paul's school.
Polyphemus's gifts to Q. Elizabeth, 46.
pool of 111 acres of water, at Kenilworth Castle, 63.
porphyry, sham, 50, 75.
porpoise for dinner in 1569, p. 70 (see *Babees Book* Index).
Porter, Lord Leicester's big one, 5.

poungarnets, 8, pomegranates.
poynets, 38, wrist-bands.
Preachers against Plays, 27.
priar, 59, pryer.
proez, 15, prose.
proining, 51, preening.
Protheus, 52.
Protheus's gifts to Queen Elizabeth, 46.
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prunes at dinner, 70.
psithyrists, the best, in England, 1656 A.D., p. 67 *note*.
Psittyrne, the, 67.
puke, French, 37 *note*.
Pullison, Alderman, 61.
purchaz, 32, gain, getting.
putter, or putting stick, for ruffs, 73.
puyt, 70, peewit.
puzels, 23, damsels (ironically).
pyept, 45, piped, drunk.
pynz, 56, tent-pegs.
pyramidally, 50.

quarrelling, none at Kenilworth, 46.
queast, 16, jury of twelve.
quik, 16, alive.
quintine, 21, 24, quintain.

rabato, 73.
Rabelais's Gargantua, li.
ragged-staff, Leicester's badge, as a Warwick, 9, 52.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, his pleasure-grounds, 49.
Rauf coll₃ear (or Ralph the Collier), cxliii.
rayle, 70, rail, landrail, the bird, 70.
receyt, 52, pool, basin.
recorder, 9, a musical instrument, 66.
red deer, 2, 70.
redolent, 50, sweet-smelling.
Reformation, the, crusht ballads in Scotland, clxvii.
releef, 17, content, pleasure.
releef, 57, pension?
respiraunt, 50, fit for breathing.
Reyde Eyttyn vitht the thre heydis, the taiyl of, cxl.
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Robert le dyabil, duc of Normandie, cxxxviii.
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rok, 47, 75, distaff.
Roman, 10, Roman letters.
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ruffs, 72.
Rumbelo fayr, clvi.
Rush, Friar, the story of, xlvii.
rut, 31, time of heat or copulation.
Ryens, King, of Northgalez, 42.

sacietee, 33, satiety.
sack and sugar, 61.
sackbut described, 66.
Saint Anthony's School, 61.
Sak full of Nuez, lxvi.
salmon, 70.
salsipotent, 33, ruling the salt seas.
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Savage man, the, 46.
scoolation, 22, schooling, teaching.
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sellars all caried vpon pillars, 63. 'A solar (Garret, or upper Room) *Solarium*, *Sollarium*.' Law French Dict. 1701.
'Set my hors vp too the rak, & then lets haue a cup of Sak,' 62.
setting stick for ruffs, 73.
Seventh of my God = Elizabeth, 43.
shalm, 7, 9.
shalme described, 66.
shees, 53, females, women.
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shoing-horn, shining as a, 38.
shoouelarz, 8, shovellers. *Anas cly-*

peata: see Babees Book, p. 153, 214.
shoveller, 70.
Sibyl, a, 5.
side, 10, long.
side, 37, syde, 38, long and wide.
Sidney, Lady, 59.
sizely, 33, according to size.
Skail Gillenderson, cxliii.
skaled, 34, ran away, dispersed.
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skiphs, 13, skiffs.
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skratting, 17, scratching.
skro, 11, 40, scroll.
sleeked, 37, made sleek.
smally, 33, little.
Smith, Master, custumer, 61.
soil: take soil, take to the water, 13, 16.
soily, 40.
soll, 47, 48, soul.
soomersauts, 18, somersaults.
soourged, 12, surged.
sospires, 60, sighs.
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soyl, 33, water.
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stag's ears cut off, 16.
stampine, 70, ? what bird.
Stanhope, Sir Thomas, 35.
starching houses for ruffs, 72.
steeuen, 41, voice.
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stent, ? what bird, 70.
stetting-stick, 37, *and note*. But see 73.
'Stil vndir the leyuis grene' or The Murning Maidin, cl.
stockard, 70, ? what bird.
stonetiuet, the bird, 70.
stoour, 42, stour, battle.
story-books, lists of, xii, xiv.
strawberries, 53, 75.
strawn, 22, made of straw.
stringed musical instruments in England, 1656 A.D., p. 66.
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sturgeon, 52. See *Babees Book*, p. 238.
sturgeon for dinner, 70.
sucket, 23, 70, sweetmeat.
sugar plate, 70.
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Sunday dancing, 12, 68.
supportasse, 73.
surfit, 59, surfeited.
swymd, 34, swam.
Sylvanus's present to Queen Elizabeth, 8, 46.
Sylvanus, 74.
sylnerd, 8, silvered.
symmetrically, 50.
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tabld stones, 51.
tag and rag, 25.
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Tanterveale, 70, ? what bird.
taperwise, 6.
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teal, 70.
temperd, 41, tuned.
tenny, 39, tawny.
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tent, the large one for Queen Elizabeth, 5 *note*, 56.
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Thetis, 52.
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thread-making, 28 *note*.
three, on, 54.
thre-futtit dog of Norroway, the tale of, cxlii.
threeden, 38, made of thread.
tine, 9, short prick or prong.
titubate, 24, stumble.
ton, 13, one; 32, the one.
tonster, 37, clipt round.
tonsword, 29, 31.
tooz, 54, twos.
trade, 61, dealing, course of life.
traded, 61, carried-on.
transom, 50.

trauers, 17, traverse, answer by denial.
treen, 24, of tree or wood.
Tresham, Sir Thomas, 35.
tridental, 52, three-toothed or -pronged.
trink, 37, trick, fashion.
Triton, 33, 52.
truelove, 38, truelover's knot, like a quatrefoil.
trumpeters, Leicester's, 6.
trust, 21, fastened.
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turkicock, 70.
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twynkling, 61, tinkling?
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underspringing, 53.
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vplondish, 46, far from London.

venison (dead fallow deer), warrants for, 70.
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Venus, 44.
viole, 67.
violin, 67.
violl, 9, viol.
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Volfe (or Well) of the Varldis End, cxl.
Volunteers, Rifle, clxxiii.
Vulcan, 44, 52.
vyse, 55, 76, pale blue.

Wager, W.; extract on ballads from his 'The Longer thou liuest, the more foole thou art,' cxxvii.
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wardens (a kind of apple) stewed, 70.
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Warwick, the town, 2.
Warwick, musters of, in 1574–5, p. 69.
wastell, 42, fine bread.
Watson, Henry; his englished 'Ship of Fools,' lxxxv, xci.
wealks, 52, whelks. (See *Babees Book* index.)
weather (wether), the big, to be shown to the Queen, 56.
Wedgenall, 36, Wedgnock Park.
Welsh-harp, 67.
whirlpoolz, 52, ? the *balena* of "The Noble Lyfe," *Babees Book*, p. 232. That it was a sort of whale, see '*Tinet:* m. The Whall tearmed a Horlepoole or Whirlepoole. Cotgrave,' cited in *B. B.* index, p. 129. 'The Whirle poole, a sea monster; *Sedenette, plyeterre, horepole, mulasse, tinet;* Un pesce mostroso del mare; *Pece monstruoso marino.*' Howel.
Wieland's Oberon, xvii.
Wife lapt in a Morel's Skin, lxiv.
wigeon, 70.
wight, 22, quick, active.
William of Malmesbury, 61.
wine, spiced, 70.
wizehardy, 44, the opposite of foolhardy, wisely brave.
Women, the Seven Sorrows of, cxiv.
woorship, 36, honour.
Worcester, 44.
Worceter, 62, Worcester.
-worth, the meaning of, 4.
wreast, 38, 41, tuning hammer.
wreast, 53, twist, turn.
wyndlesse, 53, 55, 75, driving of deer, excursus, digression.
Wynkyn de Worde on *La Morte Darthur*, xvi.
wype, 70, lapwing.

yeald, 49, yelled.
Yooth and Charitee, sketch of, cxviii.
yorne, 68, whine.
Ypocras and Galienus, lxi.
Ypomedon, the romance of, cxlii.

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